

Subjective Ambivalence and the Expression of Anti-Gay Bias

by

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Abstract: Univalent attitudes toward gay people have been widely studied, but no research to date has examined *ambivalent* (i.e., torn, conflicted) attitudes toward gay people. However, the Justification-Suppression Model (JSM; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) proposes that ambivalence leads to biased expressions through intrapsychic processes which facilitate biased expression, particularly in contexts presenting strong justifications for expressing prejudice and weak pressures to suppress prejudice. I test these implications in the context of bias toward gay people.

In Study 1, the measurement of ambivalence is examined in terms of both *subjective ambivalence* (i.e., the reported experience of “torn” attitudes) and *calculated ambivalence* (i.e., mathematical conflict between positive and negative attitude components). I find that higher subjective ambivalence is only associated with more *negative* attitudes toward gay people (and *not* positive attitudes toward gay people), and that higher subjective ambivalence predicts less gay rights support even after taking negative and positive attitudes toward gay people into account. Further, higher subjective ambivalence is associated with ideological opposition to gay people and more negative intergroup emotions (e.g., intergroup disgust). These findings suggest it is valuable to examine the unique component of subjective ambivalence separate from univalent negativity. Because calculated ambivalence measures are mathematically dependent upon a univalent negative measure, they cannot be examined separately from negativity. Therefore, subjective ambivalence is the focus of Study 2.

The main goals of Study 2 were to determine *why* and *when* subjective ambivalence is related to bias. I examined the extent to which the negative relation between subjective ambivalence and opposition to anti-gay bullying can be accounted for

by lower intergroup empathy and lower collective guilt, which may facilitate the expression of bias in keeping with the JSM. The relation between subjective ambivalence and anti-gay bullying opposition was examined within four social contexts based on a 2 (high vs. low offensiveness) x 2 (normatively unjustified vs. normatively justified) manipulation. I expected that higher subjective ambivalence would be most strongly related to lower intergroup empathy and collective guilt when there are the strongest justifications for bias expression, and that lower intergroup empathy and collective guilt would lead to less opposition to anti-gay bullying. Higher subjective ambivalence predicted less anti-gay bullying opposition. After accounting for positivity and negativity, the direct effect of subjective ambivalence was no longer significant, yet subjective ambivalence uniquely predicted intergroup empathy, which in turn predicted less anti-gay bullying opposition.

These findings provide evidence that subjective ambivalence is largely negative in nature, but also presents evidence for a unique component of subjective ambivalence (separate from univalent attitudes) associated with low intergroup empathy and negativity. In contrast to previous research, I found very little evidence for the context-dependency of subjective ambivalence. Further research on subjective ambivalence, including subjective ambivalence toward other social groups, may expand our understanding of the factors leading to biased expressions.

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Subjective Ambivalence and the Expression of Anti-Gay Bias

Attitudes toward gay people appear to be evolving dramatically. Between 1996 and 2013, the proportion of Americans supporting same-sex marriage nearly doubled (from 27% to 53%), and a clear majority of Americans now report finding homosexual relationships morally acceptable (Gallup, 2013). Despite these changes, there is still a great deal of discrimination against gay people. Anti-gay hate crimes are still relatively common and are more likely to involve violence than hate crimes toward other groups (Statistics Canada, 2010; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2011). In addition, only one-third of reported cases of anti-gay bullying are addressed by school officials (Kosciw et al., 2010), indicating that anti-gay bullying is, to some degree, tolerated. At a societal level, therefore, there appears to be a conflict between increasingly egalitarian attitudes toward gay people and the perpetuation of anti-gay discrimination. What is not clear is how individuals, at the psychological level, experience internal conflict in their attitudes toward gay people. I propose that attitudes towards gay people can be partly understood as *ambivalent*, a previously unexplored area of research.

An attitude is an evaluation of an object or an idea (Olson & Zanna, 1993), a “psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p.1). Attitudes can consist of affective, cognitive, and/or behavioural components (Olson & Zanna, 1993), and are considered ambivalent if there is conflict between two divergent attitude valences, typically one positive *and* one negative valence, as opposed to a univalent (i.e., positive *or* negative) attitude (Conner & Sparks, 2002). This concept has been widely applied to intergroup relations. Katz and Hass (1988) found that many White people simultaneously

hold both positive and negative attitudes toward Black people. Similarly, Glick and Fiske (1996) found that people often hold attitudes toward women that appear to be both positive and negative, and Bell and Esses (2002) demonstrated that attitudes toward Native people are ambivalent. Although a large body of research has focused on understanding the univalent (i.e., negative) aspect of attitudes toward gay people (see Herek, 1988; Herek, 2004), research has yet to examine whether, similar to other intergroup attitudes, attitudes toward gay people are also in conflict, or what the consequence of internal conflict might be.

The Justification-Suppression Model

The Justification-Suppression Model of prejudice (JSM; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) proposes that “raw” prejudice is rarely directly expressed because values, beliefs, social pressures, and norms oppose the expression of prejudice. Because of the pressure to suppress prejudice, biases are expressed when there are justifications for doing so (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), which “releases” the biased expression. This has two main implications for understanding the expression of prejudice. First, there must be an *internal mechanism* for justifying the expression of prejudice despite the pressures to restrain negative, socially undesirable attitudes. Second, strong internal conflict between genuine prejudice and suppression of prejudice (e.g., egalitarianism) leads to more sensitivity to *context-based* justifications. In the present context, the JSM would predict that ambivalent attitudes lead to negative reactions toward gay people by way of intrapsychic processes “justifying” anti-gay bias, an effect magnified when context-based justifications for negative reactions (both internally and externally provided) are present and suppressing factors are absent.

Within the JSM framework (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), there are three types of ambivalence. *Affective ambivalence* involves holding both genuinely negative and genuinely positive feelings toward a group (e.g., both admiration and fear). This type of ambivalence has been widely studied in the attitude literature (e.g., Bell & Esses, 1997; Katz & Hass, 1988). *Equilibrium ambivalence* occurs when there is genuine prejudice, suppression, and justification simultaneously, resulting in the expression of some forms of “justified” prejudice while completely rejecting other types of “unjustified” prejudice towards the same group. For instance, one might vehemently oppose using racial slurs (a blatant form of prejudice), yet avoid sitting next to an outgroup member (a more subtle form of prejudice). *Suppression ambivalence* results from a conflict between prejudice and motivation to appear egalitarian (and to view oneself as such). Although the differentiation between these three types of ambivalence has not been tested, all three share the notion (relevant to the present investigation) that ambivalence can lead to intergroup bias, providing a theoretical framework for understanding ambivalence.

The JSM draws on the concept of *aversive racism* (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Aversive racism is characterized by Whites possessing genuinely negative affect toward Blacks but not believing themselves to be prejudiced (i.e., they are “aversive” toward their own prejudice; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Aversive racists tend to be politically liberal, with a desire to be egalitarian (Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003). Therefore, the aversive racism framework proposes conflict between negative attitudes and a desire to not be prejudiced (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Aversive racists typically express prejudice toward Blacks when situations are ambiguous, or when they can provide non-racist justifications for attitudes and behaviours, enabling less overt, subtle expressions of

prejudice (Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002; Hodson, Hooper, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2005). I reason that justifications and externally-provided rationalizations may enable ambivalence toward gay people to lead to expressions of anti-gay bias.

The JSM outlines several mechanisms which may act as justification or suppression factors. A key implication is that many factors typically conceptualized as causes of prejudice are actually justification or suppression factors that moderate (i.e., increase or decrease) or mediate (i.e., explain) the relation between genuine prejudice and negative expressions (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Factors such as egalitarian social norms, liberal political attitudes, and empathy promote values that marginalize prejudice expressions as unacceptable and/or undesirable, thereby suppressing expressions of genuine prejudice. Other factors, such as motivations to maintain social hierarchies, victim blaming, and negative attributions justify and release the expression of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). In summary, a variety of internal factors and external factors can act to increase or decrease the expression of genuine prejudice. Taking such internal and external factors into account can greatly increase our understanding of when anti-gay prejudice is expressed.

Preliminary research suggests the value of the JSM framework in understanding attitudes toward gay people. Bahns and Branscombe (2011) manipulated an alleged blog post to either justify or condemn anti-gay discrimination. Participants then discussed anti-gay discrimination with a supposed online interaction partner who was either a gay or straight man. Reading a blog post legitimizing discrimination against gay people (by rationalizing discrimination and downplaying its harm) led to an increase in “gay-bashing” (operationalized as issuing anti-gay remarks), regardless of whether their

supposed online interaction partner was identified as a gay man or a straight man. This suggests that legitimizing discrimination justified gay bashing, an expression of intergroup bias. In addition, a decrease in collective guilt about discrimination against gay people (i.e., feeling responsible for past harm perpetrated against gay people) partially mediated the relation between the legitimizing discrimination manipulation and gay-bashing. In this instance, legitimizing discrimination appeared to serve as a justification for gay-bashing, releasing inhibitions through the intrapsychic mechanism of decreased collective guilt.

Measurement

The ultimate goals are to study ambivalence as a predictor of intergroup negativity, and explore whether justification and suppression factors facilitate negative expressions. At present, however, no validated measure of ambivalence toward gay men and lesbians exists. In Study 1, I introduce and explore methods of measuring ambivalent attitudes. To accomplish my goals, I build on methodologies from both the anti-gay prejudice and ambivalence literatures.

Anti-gay prejudice. Several methods of measuring attitudes toward gay people have been developed. One of the earliest scales to be widely used, the Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG), was developed by Herek (1984). He proposed that attitudes toward gay men and lesbians consisted mainly of a single factor, a univalent “Condemnation-Tolerance” dimension. This came to be the most widely used measure of anti-gay prejudice in the literature (Rye & Meaney, 2010). Morrison and Morrison (2002) note that the ATLG measures a “traditional” form of prejudice that is not as common among college students as the general population. They developed the Modern Prejudice

toward Gay Men and Lesbian Women Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2002) to measure a more subtle and socially acceptable form of prejudice than the ATLG. Other researchers have claimed that both the ATLG and Modern Prejudice scales do not capture the complexity of attitudes toward gay people, developing instead measures consisting of multiple factors (Adolfson, Iedema, & Keuzenkamp 2010; Massey, 2009; Walls, 2008). Although these measures were designed to tap multiple, more nuanced factors of prejudice toward gay people, each study found different factors that summarize heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay people. Although some of the factors appear to have either a positive or negative valence (see Massey, 2009), the authors did not frame their studies in terms of ambivalence. My approach to Study 1 builds from the idea of attitudes toward gay people consisting of multiple components to capture intrapersonal attitude conflict.

Ambivalence. Although the ambivalence literature has not addressed attitudes toward gay people, there are several methodologies used to measure ambivalence which I build from. Ambivalence is conceptualized throughout the literature as holding conflicting attitudes toward a target group. However, different measures of ambivalence appear to measure distinct types of ambivalence (Conner & Sparks, 2002).

Dual measures of positive and negative attitudes. Some researchers measure ambivalence by measuring positive and negative attitudes toward a group on separate Likert scales. This is the case with ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and pro-Black, anti-Black attitudes (Katz & Hass, 1988). Ambivalent sexism assesses hostile sexism (overtly prejudicial and negative) and benevolent sexism (not overtly prejudicial and appears positive on the surface) as complimentary, yet distinct, intergroup attitudes

(Glick & Fiske, 1996). Similarly, pro-Black and anti-Black attitudes as opposing, yet distinct, intergroup attitudes (Katz & Hass, 1988). This has the advantage of capturing distinct positive and negative components of one's attitude toward an outgroup rather than only capturing one positive *versus* negative dimension. However, as typically employed, this approach does not measure individual differences in the conflict between positive and negative attitudes, and therefore does not assess relative differences in intrapsychic ambivalence. Rather, ambivalent attitudes toward the group are *assumed* to exist at a societal level. Therefore, this approach does not allow us to directly measure intrapsychic ambivalence.

Calculated open-ended ambivalence. Another approach measures positive and negative attitudes separately, but does so through open-ended measures of attitudes (as opposed to a Likert scale). Participants list positive and negative evaluations of a target group, and ambivalence is determined through a formula. One approach employing measures of calculated ambivalence, the response amplification model, focuses on the tendency for ambivalent (*vs.* non-ambivalent) attitudes to result in more extreme responses (Bell et al., 1996). A response amplification approach considers the frequency of positive and negative evaluations and the self-reported extremity of the evaluations (Bell, Esses, & Maio, 1996); those with both strong positive and strong negative attitudes present the highest ambivalence scores. In past research, higher ambivalence toward Native Canadians bolstered the relative effect of an essay that was either supportive or non-supportive of a Native land claim (Bell & Esses, 2002). Moreover, higher ambivalence is associated with attitude change as a function of manipulated mood, whereas mood does not impact the attitude of those lower in ambivalence (Bell & Esses,

1997). A different model of calculated ambivalence, the Gradual Threshold Model, also asserts that attitude conflict between positive and negative dimensions results in ambivalence (Priester & Petty, 1996); after a certain threshold, the main driver of subjective ambivalence is the strength of the weaker (i.e. conflicting) attitude (Priester & Petty, 1996). However, there are potential problems with measuring positive and negative attitudes with open-ended measures, regardless of the specific model utilized. Given the open-ended nature of the measures, it is not clear from such approaches whether participants are reporting their attitudes (i.e., evaluations) or their stereotypes (i.e., group-relevant characteristics) as instructed. It is also not clear if participants personally endorse the attitudes and stereotypes they list or if they may simply be aware that the stereotypes and attitudes exist in society, listing what comes to mind. However, the use of a formula to compute an ambivalence score is potentially useful, an approach I also explore.

Subjective ambivalence. The most direct way of assessing ambivalent attitudes is to measure self-reported *mixed feelings* or *conflicted attitudes* toward a target group (See, Petty, & Fabrigar, 2008; Visser & Mirabile, 2004). This method has the advantage of being a quick, clear way of measuring ambivalence. Priester and Petty (2001) assert that subjective ambivalence represents an ideal measure of ambivalence because it captures an individual's *experience* of conflict, beyond simply possessing attitudes which seem to conflict. Although subjective ambivalence positively correlates with calculated ambivalence, the relation tends to be only moderate ($r_s \sim .20$ to $.40$; Conner & Sparks, 2002) suggesting that they are distinct constructs. In other words, a person could possess both positive and negative attitudes toward the same target (e.g., a sexist man viewing women as beautiful yet deceitful), yet not feel torn about their conflicted attitudes.

Subjective ambivalence measures are somewhat limited in that they rely upon metacognitions, which may be susceptible to bias (Priester & Petty, 2001). However, subjective ambivalence appears to capture constructs independently of the direct mathematical conflict between positive and negative attitudes (i.e., calculated ambivalence), indicating this methodology may enable us to capture components of the concept “ambivalence” (feeling torn) above and beyond calculated ambivalence. For instance, the discrepancy between one’s attitudes and the attitudes of one’s parents predicts subjective ambivalence uniquely from calculated ambivalence (Priester & Petty, 2001), which suggests that subjective ambivalence may capture aspects of internal conflict uniquely from calculated ambivalence measures.

Study 1

The main goal of Study 1 was to determine a reliable and valid method for measuring ambivalence toward gay people. I examined the statistical properties of two distinct approaches to measuring ambivalence: *calculated ambivalence* (derived from the mathematical combination of positive and negative attitudes) and *subjective ambivalence* (self-reports of experiencing torn or mixed attitudes). As a first step, I examine the seven subscales of the Polymorphous Prejudice Toward Gay Men and Lesbians Scale (Massey, 2009) to better understand the underlying structure of attitudes toward gay people. I predicted the seven subscales would load on two main components, a positive component and a negative component, which could subsequently be used to measure calculated ambivalence. I measure subjective ambivalence (Visser & Mirabile, 2004) to capture feelings of conflicting attitudes toward gay people. I predicted that, consistent with the notion of ambivalence reflecting both positive *and* negative attitudes, greater subjective

ambivalence would be associated with both greater negativity and greater positivity toward gay people.

Based on the seven subscales of the Massey (2009) scale, I measured calculated ambivalence (Maio, Esses, & Bell, 2000) to derive individual levels of ambivalence from the conflict between the positive and negative univalent components of attitudes. Given that calculated ambivalence is derived from positivity and negativity scores such that high positivity *and* negativity results in a high score for calculated ambivalence, I predicted that calculated ambivalence would positively correlate with both positivity and negativity toward gay people, and would also positively correlate with subjective ambivalence. Note, that because derived calculated ambivalence scores will typically correlate with their underlying univalent positivity and negativity components, it would be most meaningful to assess the unique predictive power of calculated ambivalence after removing variance associated with the raw components. However, controlling for a mathematical component of a predictor may alter the predictor such that it no longer properly reflects the construct it is intended to measure. Therefore, I sought to explore any correlation between the univalent components and the calculated ambivalence index to determine the efficacy of the calculated ambivalence measure. If the correlations between the calculated score and its components are strong (*vs.* weak), this would indicate mathematical dependence, and therefore it would not be very meaningful to control for the univalent components when examining how calculated ambivalence predicts expressions of bias (in this study, lower gay rights support).

To validate the measures of ambivalence, I sought to determine the relation between ambivalence and support for gay rights. I were interested in the extent to which

ambivalence could predict intergroup negativity, hypothesizing that higher subjective and calculated ambivalence would both be associated with less support for gay rights. For purposes of construct validity assessment, I also measured several attitude, ideology, and emotion variables which are associated with anti-gay prejudice, predicting that subjective ambivalence would positively relate to prejudice correlates.

Participants

Participants consisted of 207 undergraduate Brock University (Canada) students recruited through SONA (an online participant recruitment tool for Brock students), who received course credit or \$5 for participating. The sample was predominantly Caucasian (81%) and female (67.5%), with a mean age of 20.07 ($SD = 3.67$). In total, 22 participants (seven who failed to complete the full survey, 13 non-heterosexual participants, and two univariate outliers) were excluded from subsequent analyses. Therefore, all subsequent analyses involve a final sample of 185 heterosexuals ($M_{age} = 20.12$ ($SD = 3.75$), 67.0% female).

Procedure

Participants filled out several questionnaires anonymously in private booths with the use of SurveyMonkey. After completing all measures, participants were debriefed, given a short explanation of the study, and asked not to discuss the study with potential future participants.

Materials

Polymorphous prejudice against gays and lesbians scale (Appendix A):

Participants completed the Polymorphous Prejudice Against Gays and Lesbians Scale (Massey, 2009). The scale consists of seven subscales of attitudes toward gay men and

lesbians rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1- “totally disagree”, to 5- “totally agree”, with scores based on the average of subscale items. *Traditional Heterosexism* (19-items, $\alpha = .95$) measures traditional moral condemnation of homosexuality such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater traditional heterosexism. This measure largely consists of items from the ATLG Scale (Herek, 1988), a widely used measure of anti-gay prejudice. It consists of items such as “Female homosexuality is a sin”. *Denial of Continued Discrimination* (9-items, $\alpha = .80$) measures belief that gay men and lesbians are no longer discriminated against in our society such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater denial of continued discrimination, with items such as “On average, people in our society treat gay people are straight people equally”. *Aversion Toward Gay Men* (8-items, $\alpha = .90$) measures avoidance and disgust toward gay men such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater aversion toward gay men, with items such as “I think male homosexuals are disgusting”. *Aversion Toward Lesbians* (8-items, $\alpha = .65$) measures avoidance and disgust toward lesbians such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater aversion toward lesbians, with items such as “I try to avoid contact with lesbians.” *Value Gay Progress* (8-items, $\alpha = .93$) measures support for gay and lesbian civil liberties such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater valuing of gay progress, with items such as “I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing”. *Resist Heteronormativity* (8-items, $\alpha = .86$) measures feeling restricted by societal sexuality and gender norms such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater resistance of heteronormativity, with items such as “I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society”. Finally, *Positive Beliefs* (10-items, $\alpha = .85$) measures endorsement of favourable beliefs about gay people such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater positive beliefs about gay people, with items such as

“Being gay can make a man more compassionate”. The entire scale consists of 70 items. This measure allowed us to analyze the structure of attitudes toward gay people, and test for underlying positive and negative components.

Support for gay and lesbian civil rights scale (Appendix B): A uni-dimensional measure of support for gay and lesbian civil rights (Brown & Henriquez, 2011) was administered. It consists of 20 items ($\alpha = .88$) on 7-point scales from 1 – “strongly disagree”, to 7 – “strongly agree”, assessing participants’ support for a variety of gay rights issues (such as hate crime legislation and gay marriage) in addition to items rating the gay rights movement as important and valid. Higher scores indicate greater gay rights support.

Ambivalent sexism inventory (Appendix C): The ambivalent sexism inventory consists of two subscales, benevolent sexism ($\alpha = .78$) and hostile sexism ($\alpha = .84$), with 11 items each rated on 6-point scales (Glick & Fiske, 1996) ranging from 0 – “disagree strongly”, to 5 – “agree strongly”, such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater benevolent sexism and greater hostile sexism respectively. Benevolent sexism consists of items such as “Every man ought to have a woman he adores”, a position that renders women as important but in service to men. Hostile sexism consists of items such as “Many women are actually seeking favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for ‘equality’”. This measure was used for exploratory purposes, but is not analyzed in this thesis.

Pro-black, anti-black scale (Appendix D): This scale measures attitudes toward Blacks on a 6-point scale ranging from 0 – “disagree strongly” to 5 – “agree strongly”, split into pro-Black and anti-Black sub-scales with ten items each (Katz & Hass, 1988)

such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater pro-Black attitudes and greater anti-Black attitudes respectively. The pro-Black sub-scale ($\alpha = .77$) contains items such as “This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in Black culture”. The anti-Black sub-scale ($\alpha = .88$) contains items such as “One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect”. This measure was also used for exploratory purposes, but is not analyzed in this thesis.

Right-wing authoritarianism scale (Appendix E): Scores are calculated from the average of a shortened 12 items version ($\alpha = .86$) on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree”. Higher scores indicate stronger conventionality, submission to authority figures, and traditional right-wing ideology (Altemeyer 1996, 1998). Right-wing authoritarianism predicts prejudice toward many groups, especially toward gay people (Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Lee, 2000).

Attitude thermometer (Appendix F): Participants indicated the favourability of their attitudes toward several marginalized social groups, on 10-point scales ranging from 0-10 to 91-100, with higher scores indicating more favourable attitudes. Participants also indicated the favourability of their attitudes toward several “subtypes” of gay men and lesbian women, based on past research (Brambilla, Carnighi, & Ravenna, 2011; Clausell & Fiske, 2005). These measures were included for exploratory purposes, but were not analyzed in this thesis.

Social dominance orientation scale (Appendix G): Scores are calculated from the average of 16 items on a 7-point scale ($\alpha = .88$) ranging from 1- “Do not agree at all”, to 7 – “Strongly agree” that measures preference for inequality among groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle 1994), with higher scores indicating stronger preference

for inequality. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) is strongly related to several prejudices, including prejudice toward gay people (Whitley, 1999).

Revised religious fundamentalism scale (Appendix H): The revised 12-item version of the 9-point Religious Fundamentalism Scale ($\alpha = .94$) ranging from -4 – “strongly disagree” to +4 – “strongly agree”, was administered, with higher scores indicating stronger adherence to fundamentalist religious dogma (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). Individuals higher in religious fundamentalism endorse a rigid, traditional, and absolutist view of religion, measured by items such as “God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed”. Religious Fundamentalism is highly related to several different prejudices, especially prejudice toward gay people (Hunsberger, Osuwu, & Duck, 1999; see also Hodson, Choma, & Costello, 2009).

Wilson-Patterson Conservatism Scale (Appendix I): Participants also completed the *Wilson-Patterson Conservatism Scale*, a measure of attitudes toward 10 broad public issues related to liberalism or conservatism (such as “censorship” or “socialism”) to which participants respond either “In Favour”, “Opposed” or “Unsure” (Wilson, 1973). This scale was not utilized due to very low reliability ($\alpha = .38$).

Disgust scale-revised (Appendix J): Scores are calculated from the average of 25 items ($\alpha = .87$) with higher scores indicating higher general sensitivity to experiencing disgust (Olatunji et al., 2008). The first 13-items consist of statements such as “I might be willing to try eating monkey meat, under some circumstances”. Participants indicate their agreement on a 1 – “strongly disagree” to 4 – “strongly agree”, scale. The last 12-items consist of statements such as “You discover that a friend of yours changes underwear

only once a week”. Participants rate how disgusting they find the situation on a 1 – “not disgusting at all” to 4 – “very disgusting”, scale. Although some research finds disgust sensitivity to be related to prejudice (Hodson & Costello, 2007), including toward gay people (Terrizzi, Shook, & Ventis, 2010), other research does not (Choma, Hodson, & Costello, 2012; Hodson et al., 2013).

Self-identified right-wing ideology (Appendix K): Participants indicated the extent to which they considered themselves liberal versus conservative in terms of social policy, economic policy, and in general on 1 – “very liberal” to 7 – “very conservative” items ($\alpha = .84$). The three scores were averaged such that higher scores represented higher self-identified right-wing ideology.

Intergroup disgust sensitivity (Appendix L): This measure consists of eight items on a 7-point scale averaged together ($\alpha = .76$) ranging from 1 – “strongly disagree”, to 7 – “strongly agree”, assessing individual differences in sensitivity to disgust specific to interactions with outgroups, such that higher averaged ratings reflect greater intergroup disgust sensitivity (Choma et al., 2012; Hodson et al., 2013). This construct is particularly relevant to understanding prejudice because it pertains to disgust with regard to outgroups, predicting prejudice even after controlling for general disgust sensitivity (Hodson et al., 2013).

Subjective ambivalence (Appendix M): Participants reported the extent to which they hold mixed feelings towards gay men, and, separately, mixed feelings toward lesbians. They also indicated the extent to which they felt conflicted in their attitude towards gay men, and, separately, conflicted in their attitude towards lesbians. These four items (two for gay men and two for lesbians) were rated on 5-point Likert scales and

averaged ($\alpha = .90$), ranging from 1 – “not at all” to 5 – “completely”, with higher scores reflecting greater subjective ambivalence (Visser & Mirabile, 2004).

Demographics survey (Appendix N): After completing the other measures, participants filled out a demographics form probing their age, gender, ethnic background, year in university, academic major, and sexual orientation. I was interested in gender because males typically exhibit higher prejudice toward gay people, particularly gay men (Herek & Capitanio, 1999).¹

Results

I first explored the Polymorphous Prejudice scale (Massey, 2009). Correlations between the seven subscales (see Table 1) were similar to past results. Of key interest, sub-scales which appear to measure “negativity” (e.g., Traditional Heterosexism; Aversion Toward Gay Men) tended to be strongly correlated with each other, sub-scales which appeared to measure “positivity” (e.g., Resist Heteronormativity; Positive Beliefs) also tend to be strongly correlated with each other, yet sub-scales measuring negativity appear to only weakly correlate with positivity sub-scales (e.g., Traditional Heterosexism vs. Positive Beliefs). This suggests that there may be underlying positive and negative components which account for a large proportion of the variance in the seven sub-scales. To test this potential directly, I performed a principal components analysis for the seven sub-scale scores.

¹ Participants also completed a Single-Target IAT (ST-IAT) measuring implicit attitudes toward gays and lesbians in Medialab (See Appendix O). This measure was used for exploratory purposes and will not be addressed in the thesis, in part due to a technical difficulty. Participants were assigned ID numbers so that participants’ explicit measures could be linked with their implicit ST-IAT scores. The implicit versus explicit order was counterbalanced; no significant differences were observed.

Table 1: *Correlation matrix for the seven sub-scales of Polymorphous Prejudice (Study 1)*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Traditional Heterosexism	.95	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.90	.88
2. Deny Continued Discrimination	.23**	.80	-	-	-	-	-	2.20	.58
3. Aversion Toward Gay Men	.71***	.30***	.90	-	-	-	-	2.08	.93
4 Aversion Toward Lesbians	.34***	.17*	.45***	.65	-	-	-	2.33	.34
5. Value Gay Progress	-.72***	-.37***	-.68***	-.13	.93	-	-	3.54	.88
6. Resist Heteronormativity	-.21**	-.27***	-.28***	-.02	.45***	.86	-	2.67	.89
7. Positive Beliefs	-.22**	-.12	-.19**	.09	.28***	.45***	.85	2.56	.71

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. All sub-scales on a 1-5 scale. Scale reliabilities are listed on the diagonals.

As predicted, a principal components analysis with Oblimin rotation revealed two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 (see Table 2). The two factors account for 63.6% of the variance, and have an estimated correlation of $-.20$. Three sub-scales (Aversion Toward Gay Men, Traditional Heterosexism, and Aversion Toward Lesbians) loaded strongly on the first component but not the second. Two of the sub-scales (Positive Beliefs and Resist Heteronormativity) loaded strongly on the second component but not the first. Value gay progress loaded strongly on both components, and Denial of Continued Discrimination appeared to load most strongly on the negative component. Thus, the first component is largely composed of “negativity” subscales, whereas the second component is largely composed of “positivity” subscales. Based on these results, I derived measures of Negativity and Positivity from the three subscales clearly loading on the negative component (Aversion Toward Gay Men, Traditional Heterosexism, and Aversion Toward Lesbians) and the two subscales clearly loading on the positive component (Positive Beliefs and Resist Heteronormativity)². I calculated a “Negativity” score by averaging the composite scores for Aversion Toward Gay Men, Traditional Heterosexism, and Aversion Toward Lesbians such that higher scores indicated stronger negative attitudes toward gay people. Likewise, I calculated a “Positivity” score by averaging the composite scores for the Positive Beliefs and Resist Heteronormativity subscales such that higher scores indicated stronger positive attitudes toward gay people. Thus, the three “negative” subscales are combined to capture the negative

² An additional principal components analysis in Study 2 revealed that Value Gay Progress only loaded on the negative factor, and that Denial of Continued Discrimination loaded equally strong on the two factors (see Table 8, Study 2). The inconsistent loadings of these two subscales across samples further suggested that they should be excluded from the calculation of positive and negative attitudes.

Table 2:
*Principal Components Analysis of Polymorphous Prejudice
 (Study 1)*

Component	Negative	Positive
Aversion Toward Gay Men	.901	-.205
Traditional Heterosexism	.838	-.252
Value Gay Progress	-.778	.552
Aversion Toward Lesbians	.630	.357
Denial of Continued Discrimination	.498	-.237
Positive Beliefs	-.186	.790
Resist Heteronormativity	-.351	.765
Eigen value	3.13	1.33
Variance accounted for	44.6%	19.0%

Note. Derived from the structure matrix of inter-item correlations using Oblimin rotation.

component of attitudes, and the two “positive” subscales are combined to capture the positive component of attitudes.

I then derived calculated ambivalence scores based on these two factors. A calculated ambivalence score takes into account the strength of both the univariate positive and univariate negative components of attitudes. Strong positive *and* strong negative attitudes result in greater calculated ambivalence scores, whereas only a strong positive *or* a strong negative attitude will result in lower calculated ambivalence scores. In the response amplification literature, ambivalence is calculated using the following formula when using open-ended measures of positive and negative components (Maio, Esses, & Bell, 2000):

$$\{ A = P + |N| - 2|P + N| + 36 \}$$

(A = Ambivalence, P = Positivity, N = Negativity)

A constant (for open-ended measures, typically “36”) is used to adjust ambivalence scores so that all scores are zero or above. The constant can be adjusted depending on the scale of the positive and negative dimensions. In order to avoid negative values, I use a constant of 2 to adjust for the scale (from 1 to 5) of the positivity and negativity dimensions. In addition, the negativity dimension has a positive range (1 to 5 rather than from 0 to -18, the typical range in the open-ended ambivalence literature), so I do not need to correct for this using the absolute value of the negative dimension.

Therefore, I use the formula:

$$\{ A = P + N - 2|P - N| + 2 \}$$

(A = Ambivalence, P = Positivity, N = Negativity)

This results in a calculated ambivalence score with a theoretical range of 0 to 12, such that 0 reflects the least calculated ambivalence and 12 reflects the most calculated ambivalence.

Next, I sought to determine the association between subjective ambivalence and calculated ambivalence, as well as their association with positivity and negativity toward gay people (see Table 3). Consistent with past literature (Conner & Sparks, 2002), subjective ambivalence and calculated ambivalence are positively correlated ($r = .26$), yet clearly distinct. Both higher subjective and calculated ambivalence are associated with more negativity toward gay people, consistent with my predictions. Contrary to my predictions, however, neither subjective nor calculated ambivalence was associated with

Table 3:

Bivariate Correlations for Positivity, Negativity, Subjective Ambivalence, and Calculated Ambivalence (Study 1)

	1. Positivity	2. Negativity	3. Subjective ambivalence	4. Calculated Ambivalence	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1.	-				2.62	.68
2.	-.24**	-			2.11	.62
3.	-.05	.43***	-		1.99	1.02
4.	-.04	.35***	.26***	-	6.82	1.17

Note. ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

more positivity toward gay people. Therefore, both forms of ambivalence were solely associated with more negative (not positive) intergroup evaluations.³

To further explore the possibility that ambivalence toward gay people is only associated with negativity (and not positivity), an additional principal components analysis was performed, entering all seven scales for the Polymorphous Prejudice scale as well as calculated and subjective ambivalence. Similar to the findings in Table 2, I again found two principal components, a negative component and a positive component with similar loadings for the seven subscales (see Table 4). The two factors combined accounted for 54.7% of the variance and had an estimated correlation of $-.17$. Subjective ambivalence only loaded on the negative component, further suggesting that subjective ambivalence is associated with greater negativity, rather than greater negativity *and* greater positivity. Calculated ambivalence also only loaded on the negative component, and not the positive component, which indicates the calculated ambivalence score may also be an indicator of negativity (and not both negativity *and* positivity). This latter finding may be problematic

³ The distribution of subjective ambivalence scores demonstrated very little skew (.78) or kurtosis (-.28). Calculated ambivalence, likewise, presented very little skew (.14) or kurtosis (.03). Hence, both subjective and calculated ambivalence are approximately normally distributed, indicating they could be utilized as predictors of intergroup bias while meeting the assumptions of most statistical analyses.

Table 4:
Principal Components Analysis of Polymorphous Prejudice with Subjective and Calculated Ambivalence (Study 1)

Component	Negative	Positive
Aversion Toward Gay Men	.835	-.382
Traditional Heterosexism	.763	-.419
Value Gay Progress	-.689	.664
Aversion Toward Lesbians	.643	.182
Subjective Ambivalence	.605	-.097
Calculated Ambivalence	.546	.097
Denial of Continued Discrimination	.456	-.303
Positive Beliefs	.000	.806
Resist Heteronormativity	-.240	.754
Eigen value	3.47	1.45
Variance accounted for	38.5%	16.1%

Note. Derived from the structure matrix of inter-item correlations with Oblimin rotation.

given that calculated ambivalence is derived mathematically from the positive and negative univalent attitudes. Because calculated ambivalence and negativity are not measured independently, utilizing calculated ambivalence statistically controlling for negativity would be unlikely to yield a meaningful predictor. In contrast, it would be statistically valid to utilize a subjective ambivalence measure as a bias predictor, statistically controlling for negativity, because the constructs are measured independently.

Having established that both subjective ambivalence and calculated ambivalence are associated with negativity, I sought to determine whether subjective ambivalence and calculated ambivalence demonstrate predictive validity. Given that both calculated and subjective ambivalence correlate fairly strongly with negativity (and not positivity) and I am interested in ambivalence as a predictor of negative reactions to gay people, it was particularly important to determine the predictive validity of the ambivalence measures independently of the negativity dimension. If the overlap between ambivalence and negativity is not taken into account, it would be possible the negative reactions associated with higher ambivalence could already be accounted for by higher negativity, rather than a unique contribution of ambivalence. This concern was especially important given that both measures of ambivalence overlap with negativity, indicating that effects of ambivalence could potentially be due to negativity. Therefore, I sought to determine whether subjective and calculated ambivalence predicted support for gay rights when taking into account positivity and negativity⁴. Bivariate correlations indicated that stronger negativity, calculated ambivalence, and subjective ambivalence each predicted less gay rights support, whereas stronger positivity predicted more gay rights support. This further indicates that both calculated ambivalence and subjective ambivalence indicate stronger negativity. A simultaneous multiple regression revealed that more negativity strongly predicted less gay rights support, but that positivity was not a unique predictor (see Table 5). Of key interest, subjective ambivalence uniquely predicted less gay rights support ($\beta = -.11, p = .03$). In contrast, calculated ambivalence did not

⁴There was some overlap between the “negativity” measure and the “support for gay rights” measure, such that three of the items measuring stronger negativity also measured lower support for gay rights. When these three items were removed, nearly identical results were obtained, with identical significant and non-significant patterns of results.

Table 5:
Predictors of support for gay rights (Study 1)

Variable	<i>B</i>	β	<i>r</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Constant	157.11				
Negative Factor (univalent)	-24.55***	-.76***	-.81***	2.62	.68
Positive Factor (univalent)	2.09	.07	.27***	2.11	.62
Calculated Ambivalence	.94	.06	-.23***	1.99	1.02
Subjective Ambivalence	-.54*	-.11*	-.42***	6.82	1.17
Adj R^2	.66***				

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$

uniquely predict gay rights support ($\beta = .06$, $p = .24$). This suggests that subjective (vs. calculated) ambivalence may be particularly useful for predicting outcomes separately from the positive and negative components of attitudes.

I next sought to better understand the relation between subjective ambivalence and negativity. Bivariate correlations between subjective ambivalence and prejudice correlates (e.g., ideology) revealed that higher subjective ambivalence is associated with greater RWA, SDO, religious fundamentalism, disgust sensitivity, and intergroup disgust sensitivity, but is not associated with right-wing ideology (see Table 6). Similarly, negativity is also associated with these prejudice correlates in the same direction (with the exception of general disgust sensitivity) and is also associated with greater self-reported right-wing (vs. left-wing) ideology (see Table 6). Partial correlations controlling for negativity revealed that the positive associations between subjective ambivalence and prejudice-correlates are *independent of negativity*, with the exception of SDO and right-

Table 6:

Bivariate and partial correlations predicting prejudice-relevant variables from Subjective Ambivalence and Negativity (Study 1)

	Subjective Ambivalence		Negativity Component	
RWA	.37***	(.17*)	.60***	(.53***)
SDO	.30***	(.15)	.44***	(.37***)
Right-wing ideology	.12	(.01)	.24**	(.22**)
Religious Fundamentalism	.34***	(.17*)	.52***	(.44***)
Disgust Sensitivity	.22**	(.23**)	.03	(-.07)
Intergroup Disgust Sensitivity	.31***	(.20**)	.34***	(.25**)

Note. Partial correlations in parentheses. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

wing ideology. These findings indicate subjective ambivalence toward gay people captures a negative (see Table 4) yet partially distinct (see Tables 5-6) psychological construct relevant to intergroup relations.

Summary

The analyses revealed that the seven factors of the Polymorphous Prejudice scale could largely be accounted for by two underlying components separately measuring negative and positive attitudes toward gay people. Based on these underlying factors, I created an indicator of negativity from the three negative factors and an indicator of positivity from the two positive factors, utilizing the underlying positive and negative components of attitudes to derive a measure of calculated ambivalence. Consistent with past literature (Conner & Sparks, 2002), subjective and calculated ambivalence demonstrated a small-to-moderate relation ($r = .26$), suggesting that both methods of measuring ambivalence reflect related yet distinct constructs. Moreover, subjective ambivalence predicts support for gay rights independently of the negative and positive

components of intergroup attitudes, whereas calculated ambivalence does not. This may be due to a necessary statistical limitation of calculated ambivalence scores: its measurement is directly dependent on the univalent components of attitudes, and therefore there is little utility in using calculated ambivalence to understand intergroup relations in a way that is *truly* distinct from univalent attitudes (a point not addressed in the existing literature).

Measuring ambivalence distinctly from univalent attitudes is particularly important given the fairly strong relation between negativity and both measures of ambivalence. As Study 1 demonstrates, subjective ambivalence not only predicts decreased gay rights support independently of univalent attitudes, but is also positively and uniquely associated with constructs such as ideology and disgust sensitivity, factors previously identified as correlates of anti-gay prejudice. In addition, subjective ambivalence is positively associated with calculated ambivalence measures of attitudes toward gay people, demonstrating construct validity for the measure. Overall, subjective ambivalence appears to possess more utility than calculated ambivalence in that its measurement is independent of univalent attitude components. Subjective ambivalence also appears to be a valid predictor of intergroup attitudes, in that it is associated with several constructs also associated with anti-gay prejudice, and is also able to predict gay rights support after controlling for univalent positive and negative intergroup attitudes. Based on these findings, I expand the examination of subjective ambivalence in Study 2.

Study 2

The findings of Study 1 pose an intriguing question: Why would subjective ambivalence be associated with negative intergroup biases, such as opposing gay rights,

independently of negative attitudes toward the group? The JSM provides two possible (and complimentary) explanations for this phenomenon. First, there may be *intrapsychic* mechanisms (i.e., mediators) through which people can justify expressing their torn attitudes through negativity. That is, the link between subjective ambivalence and negative expression toward gay people might be explained or facilitated by other internal factors (e.g., decreased outgroup empathy). Second, there may be specific *social* factors (i.e., moderators) which impact the release of bias originating from “torn” feelings (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003).

Study 2 expands on Study 1, testing whether higher subjective ambivalence is associated with less support for gay rights by examining the relation between subjective ambivalence and opposition to anti-gay bullying in particular. Opposition to anti-gay bullying represents a form of gay rights support, and therefore I expect that higher subjective ambivalence will be associated with less opposition to anti-gay bullying. I measured opposition to a described bullying incident as an indicator of opposition to anti-gay bullying. Examining opposition to anti-gay bullying expands on Study 1 by adding social context to support for gay rights, with some contexts (e.g., social norms) theoretically enabling the expression of anti-gay bias more than other contexts. I utilize a moderated mediation approach, predicting anti-gay bullying acceptance (as an indicator of intergroup negativity) from subjective ambivalence. Two intergroup emotions are proposed as intrapsychic mediators: intergroup empathy and collective guilt. Two contextual factors of the anti-gay bullying, normative justifications and offensiveness, are proposed as contextual moderators of this mediated effect.

How might an ambivalence approach help explain opposition to anti-gay bullying? Given that higher subjective ambivalence is associated with more negativity toward gay people (see Study 1), there may be justification mechanisms through which people who experience ambivalence justify anti-gay bullying. Mediators of subjective ambivalence effects on bias expressions have yet to be examined, and therefore it remains unknown what underlying psychological factors connect subjective ambivalence to outward expressions of prejudice. This issue of mediation is particularly important in this context because there is no intuitive connection between conflicted feelings toward a group and negative expressions. Put simply, why is feeling torn toward a topic associated with negativity per se? Both intergroup empathy and collective guilt may give us a glimpse at the intrapsychic processes which enable higher ambivalence to be expressed as bias.

First, higher subjective ambivalence may be accompanied by lower intergroup empathy. Empathy is a form of vicarious emotional arousal wherein a person relates to the emotional experience of another person (Batson, Fultz, & Schoenrade, 1987). Sympathy and compassion associated with empathy can encourage people to help someone experiencing harm (Batson et al., 1987). Empathy is consistently associated with positive attitudes toward many marginalized groups (Batson & Ahmad, 2009), and is associated with increased helping behaviour toward members of stigmatized groups (e.g., drug addicts, people with AIDS) (Batson, et al, 1997). Experimentally inducing empathy improves Whites' attitudes toward Blacks (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). Further, higher empathy is associated with lower prejudice independently of Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation (which consistently account for a

large proportion of the variance in prejudice; McFarland, 2010). Therefore, empathy appears to be an important (negative) predictor of prejudice expression.

The Justification-Suppression Model proposes that greater empathy suppresses the expression of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), meaning that lower levels of empathy should facilitate bias expressions. Higher levels of prejudice are thought to be associated with lower empathy because disliking is associated with detachment and distancing from the outgroup (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Likewise, I propose that lower empathy toward gay people may enable people with higher subjective ambivalence to “disconnect” from the negative experiences of gay people, enabling the expression of prejudice. In other words, empathy may act as a key intrapsychic mediator between subjective ambivalence and intergroup bias, such that lower levels of empathy facilitate negative reactions. For example, among those higher in social dominance orientation, increased contact with Black inmates is associated with lower levels of prejudice, with this effect being mediated by increases in intergroup empathy (Hodson, 2008). Empathy also mediates the relation between increases in perspective taking and both decreased prejudice toward Blacks (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003) and decreased prejudice toward gay people (Hodson et al., 2009). Likewise, intergroup empathy mediates the relation between immigrant humanization (i.e., immigrants perceived as possessing human traits and emotions) and decreases in anti-immigrant prejudice (Costello & Hodson, 2010).

Second, higher subjective ambivalence may be associated with less collective guilt related to anti-gay discrimination. At an individual level, guilt is experienced as the result of personal transgressions. Collective guilt, however, need not be related to one's

own behaviours, and is instead based on harm inflicted by members of one's ingroup (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). For instance, collective guilt increases as a result of reminders of past transgressions, such as reminding non-Jewish participants (i.e., Christians) of the holocaust (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). In this context, collective guilt is indicated by higher levels of guilt among straight people due to past and current discrimination against gay people.

Importantly, collective guilt can act as a suppressor of prejudice by placing responsibility on one's ingroup for their biased feelings and behaviours (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Lower levels of collective guilt may facilitate the expression of prejudice, whereas higher levels of collective guilt would suppress prejudice. Indeed, collective guilt mediates the positive relation between legitimization of anti-gay prejudice and gay-bashing (Bahns & Branscombe, 2011). Similarly, Cavalier Humour Beliefs, the belief that "a joke is just a joke" and offensive humour should not be seen as harmful, mediate the relation between higher Social Dominance Orientation and the perception that racist humour is "harmless" (Hodson, Rush, & MacInnis, 2010). In this manner, Cavalier Humour Beliefs facilitate viewing racist humour as harmless. Likewise, decreased collective guilt may enable people with higher subjective ambivalence to release themselves from feelings of responsibility related to anti-gay bullying, facilitating tolerance of the bullying.

The JSM also suggests the expression of ambivalence as bias can depend on social context (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). In the context of anti-gay bullying, I expect that when there are social justifications present/salient for anti-gay bullying, those relatively ambivalent toward gay people will particularly express tolerance of the

bullying behaviour. In contrast, ambivalence would be less associated with tolerance of anti-gay bullying when justifications or legitimization factors are not present. Reactions to anti-gay bullying appear to depend on context, at least at the societal level. Only about one third of LGBT high schools students in the US that experience bullying report that school staff were either somewhat or very effective at addressing the bullying, and the bully was only formally disciplined in 16% of cases (Kosciw et al., 2010; see also Goldstein, Collins, & Hadler, 2007), which indicates anti-gay bullying is typically tolerated. In contrast, when there are more extreme forms of bullying, or when a gay bullying victim commits suicide, there tends to be widespread condemnation of the bullying, and many social causes have developed around combatting anti-gay bullying. Most notably, the widely popular “It Gets Better” internet campaign has encouraged past victims of anti-gay bullying to speak out about their experience (It Gets Better Project, 2013).

Although anti-gay bullying has garnered a great deal of media attention and political interest (GLSEN, 2013), little psychological research has examined public perceptions of anti-gay bullying. The only known research aimed at understanding perceptions of anti-gay bullying has been qualitative (e.g., Phoenix, Frosh, & Pattman, 2003; Taylor, 2007) or descriptive (e.g., Birkett, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009; Kosciw et al., 2010), leaving the mechanisms underlying the psychological processes unclear. The use of quantitative methods (particularly those utilizing mediation analyses within an experimental context) may give us a glimpse at the psychological mechanisms involved in these reactions. However, some research examining sociological factors which predict anti-gay bullying suggest the JSM would be relevant to this context. Gay and lesbians

students in schools with pro-LGBT programs (i.e., communicating clear, positive pro-gay norms) are less likely to be threatened or assaulted in school (Kosciw et al., 2010), experience dating violence, or skip school due to fear (Goodenow, Szalacha, & Westheimer, 2006). Such findings are consistent with the aversive racism and JSM frameworks, with expressions of intergroup bias attenuated in contexts presenting strong social norms against expressing bias.

In Study 2, I manipulated the *severity* of the bullying (by altering the offensiveness of the anti-gay terms used) and the extent to which the anti-gay bullying was portrayed as *normatively justified* (by portraying the bullying as just “boys being boys” or as clearly violating social norms). The goal was to create social contexts which either justify the bullying (encouraging bullying toleration) or condemn the bullying (encouraging bullying opposition). This enables me to test my hypothesis, based on the JSM, that subjective ambivalence will be most strongly associated with more negative (or less positive) intergroup emotions when justifications are present, which will in turn increase biased expressions (in this case, decreasing opposition to anti-gay bullying). Relatively low offensiveness, for instance, may lead to the interpretation that the bullying is not harmful, which may enable justifications for expressing bias without appearing to be prejudiced (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). In other words, when a gay student is called names like “gay boy”, it may be more socially acceptable to justify tolerating the bullying as “just teasing”, whereas it may be more socially unacceptable to tolerate a gay student being called “fucking faggot” because it is more likely to be interpreted as blatant prejudice. Likewise, normative justifications such as “boys will be boys” may downplay the bullying by casting it as normal, inevitable, and acceptable, which may facilitate the

expression of bias (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Further, the interactive presence of both low offensiveness (e.g., “gay boy” epithets) and normative justifications (i.e., “boys will be boys”) may present a context in which expressing bias is particularly likely due to presenting both an “out” for tolerating the bullying and a normative influence to tolerate the bullying.

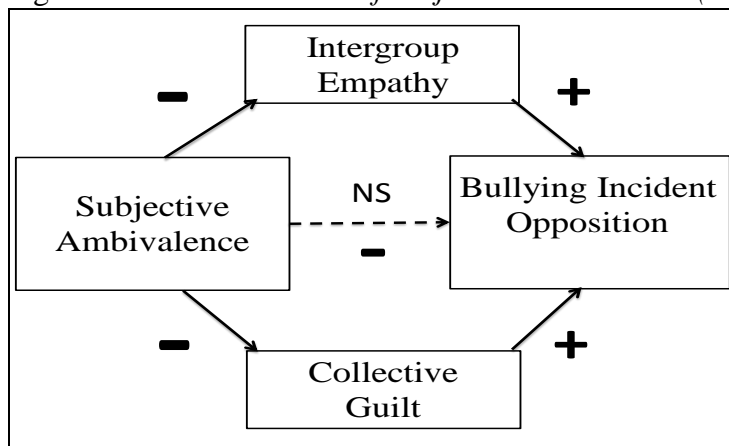
Predictions

In line with Study 1, I predicted that greater subjective ambivalence would be associated with less bullying incident opposition (H1). I also predicted that intergroup empathy and collective guilt would mediate (i.e., explain) the path from subjective ambivalence to lower levels of bullying incident opposition (H2), such that subjective ambivalence would predict lower intergroup empathy and lower collective guilt, which would in turn predict less bullying incident opposition, with subjective ambivalence no longer predicting less bullying incident opposition after accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt (see Figure 1). I also predicted that the paths from subjective ambivalence to both intergroup empathy and collective guilt would be moderated by normative justifications (H3), such that these paths would be stronger when normative (vs. non-normative) justifications are provided by contextual information. Based on the JSM framework, I expected the path from subjective ambivalence to anti-gay bullying opposition would similarly be moderated by contextual factors, such that the path from subjective ambivalence to bullying incident opposition would be stronger when normative (non-normative) justifications are provided. Following a similar rationale, I predicted that the paths from subjective ambivalence to both intergroup empathy and collective guilt would be moderated by offensiveness, such that the paths would be

stronger when offensiveness is low (vs. high), providing a justification for enabling the bullying (i.e., viewing the bullying as “not that bad”). As with the normative justifications manipulation, I expected the path from subjective ambivalence to anti-gay bullying opposition to also be stronger when offensiveness is low (vs. high).

I predicted that there would be an interaction between subjective ambivalence, normative justifications, and offensiveness, such that these paths from subjective ambivalence to both intergroup empathy and collective guilt would be particularly strong when clear justifications for expressing negativity (normative justifications and low offensiveness) are present (H4). Likewise, I also expected a three-way interaction between subjective ambivalence, normative justifications, and offensiveness,

Figure 1: *Mediation model of subjective ambivalence (Study 2)*



Note. The dotted line represents a path significant at the zero-order level but non-significant with mediators included in the model.

such that the path from subjective ambivalence to bullying incident opposition would be particularly strong in the normatively justified, low offensiveness condition. Finally, I predicted that Hypotheses 1 through 4 would hold after accounting for univalent negative and positive attitudes toward gay people (H5), based on findings from Study 1.

It is worth noting that, after the data had been collected, I determined that a moderated mediation approach (presented above) would best capture the research questions. However, I had originally proposed a mediated moderation approach before collecting the data. Therefore, I also test for mediated moderation for the interested reader. To test for mediated moderation, it is necessary to first establish that there is a significant interaction effect on the dependent variable (i.e., there is moderation). Then, it must be demonstrated that this interaction effect is no longer significant after accounting for another variable (i.e., there is mediation of the moderated effect), with that mediator itself predicting the outcome variable. I predicted that the same interactions proposed in the moderated mediation model between subjective ambivalence and normative justification, subjective ambivalence and offensiveness, and the 3-way interaction between subjective ambivalence, normative justifications, and offensiveness would predict bullying incident opposition (H6). I also predicted that these interaction patterns on bullying incident opposition would be mediated by intergroup empathy and collective guilt (H7), such that the interactions no longer predict anti-gay bullying acceptance after accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt (which will themselves predict bullying incident opposition).

Participants

Brock University (Canada) students were recruited via SONA and offered either course credit or \$5 for participating. There were 219 participants in this study, of which 80% were female and 85% were Caucasian, with an average age of 19.98 ($SD = 3.12$). As in Study 1, I excluded all participants who indicated a sexual orientation other than heterosexual ($n = 20$). Ten univariate outliers and four participants with missing data

were also removed from the sample, resulting in a final sample size of 185 ($M_{age} = 19.91$ ($SD = 3.30$), 84% female).

Procedure

All data were collected on computers in a lab setting, in private booths. After completion, participants were informed of the purpose of the study, informed of the use of deception in experimentally altering the news story, and asked not to discuss the study with potential future participants.

Independent variables

Subjective ambivalence (Appendix M): As in Study 1, participants completed a 4-item Likert scales ($\alpha = .91$) ranging from 1 – “not at all” to 5 – “completely”, measuring the extent to which participants experience their attitudes toward gay men as “mixed” and “conflicted” and, separately, their attitudes toward lesbians as “mixed” and “conflicted” (Visser & Mirabile, 2004). Higher scores represent greater subjective ambivalence.

Polymorphous prejudice against gays and lesbians scale (Appendix A): As in Study 1, participants completed the Polymorphous Prejudice Against Gays and Lesbians Scale (Massey, 2009). Composite scores for three of the subscales (Aversion Toward Gay Men, $\alpha = .85$, Aversion Toward Lesbians, $\alpha = .75$, and Traditional Heterosexism, $\alpha = .93$) were averaged, with higher scores indicating more negative attitudes toward gay people, and composite scores for two of the subscales (Positive Beliefs, $\alpha = .88$, and Resist Heteronormativity, $\alpha = .84$) were averaged, with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes toward gay people in order to capture underlying negative and positive dimensions of intergroup attitudes. Scores ranged from 1 – “completely disagree” to 5 “completely agree”.

Manipulation

Participants then read over an online news story about a case of anti-gay bullying (see Appendix P). The formatting of the news story was adapted from a CBC News website template. In all versions of the story, the gay student is pushed, threatened, and called anti-gay epithets by another student at a high school in British Columbia. Other students are described as laughing and video recording the bullying incident as it occurs. The article discusses the possibility that charges will be brought against the student that instigated the bullying, and provided commentary from the principal, a student who witnessed the event, and from either the prosecuting attorney supporting the victim (in the non-justifying condition) or defense attorney supporting the bully (in the justifying condition).

The report was altered according to a 2x2 experimental between-subjects design (with subjective ambivalence serving as an individual difference predictor). The framing of the story was manipulated by altering the commentary included in the article, with half framed as *normatively justified* (described by others in the article as fairly tolerable behaviour, that is, “boys will be boys”), and half framed as *normatively unjustified* (described by others in the article as a traumatic event, “more than just boys being boys”). The offensiveness⁵ of the bullying was also manipulated, with half of the stories containing relatively offensive epithets (e.g., “fucking faggot”), with the bullied student described as “completely humiliated”. The other half of the stories contained relatively

⁵ “Offensiveness” of the derogatory words used by the bullies was determined by having seven volunteers rank synonyms for “gay” taken from urbandictionary.com by how offensive they personally thought the phrases were. Phrases consistently ranked near the top in terms of offensiveness were used for the “offensive” condition and phrases consistently ranked near the bottom in terms of offensiveness were used for the “inoffensive” condition.

inoffensive epithets (e.g., “gay boy”), with the bullied student described as simply “really embarrassed”. Given that boys are more likely to bully gay students and to be bullied for being gay (Prati, 2012), all scenarios presented both the victim and the bully as boys.

Dependent variables

Reactions to the News Story (Appendix Q): Participants completed a semantic differential measure indicating their *evaluation of the article* itself (e.g., good vs. bad) across 4-items ($\alpha = .71$) ranging from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more positive views of the article. Bullying opposition was measured using 29 semantic differentials on 1 to 7 scales intended to indicate *bullying incident opposition* (11-item), *bully opposition* (9-items), and *victim support* (9-items). For each of the three subscales, higher scores indicate more anti-gay bullying opposition (i.e., more bully incident opposition, more bully-opposition, and more victim-support). A principal components analysis was subsequently performed to determine if it would be appropriate to treat these measures as separate dependent variables (see below for results and scale alphas). Two separate semantic differential items measuring attitude toward the bullying incident, “just – unjust” and “offensive – inoffensive”, were used as manipulation checks. All three semantic differential measures are based off past research on general attitudes (Crites, Fabrigar, & Petty, 1994), but have not been used to measure attitudes toward anti-gay bullying. For the purpose of this thesis, I focus on bullying *incident* opposition given that it reflects the most general attitude toward the issue of anti-gay bullying.

Mediators

Intergroup empathy (Appendix R): Participants completed the Batson empathy scale (6- item, 7-point scale, $\alpha = .95$) (Batson et al., 1987) ranging from 1 – “not at all” to

7 – very much”, which I modified to measure participants’ ability to emotionally relate to the experience of gay people (following Hodson et al., 2009). Participants indicated the extent to which they felt sympathetic, compassionate, soft-hearted, warm, tender, and moved by gay men and lesbians, with higher scores indicating more empathy for gay people.

Collective guilt (Appendix S): A 4-item, 7-point scale measure ($\alpha = .71$) ranging from 1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree”, with higher scores indicting higher levels of guilt associated with heterosexual privilege (Bahns & Branscombe, 2011), was administered. A sample item is “I feel guilty for all the privileges I have because I’m heterosexual”.

Exploratory Measures

Social dominance orientation scale (Appendix G): A 16-item ($\alpha = .93$) 7-point scale from 1 – “do not agree at all” to 7 – “strongly agree”, with higher scores indicating more preference for inequality among groups as opposed to equality between groups (Pratto et al., 1994), as in Study 1.

Right-wing authoritarianism scale (Appendix E): A 12-item ($\alpha = .84$) 7-point scale ranging from 1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree”, with higher scores indicating more submission to authority and rigid, traditional ideology (Altemeyer, 1996), as in Study 1.

Sexual orientation identification (Appendix T): A 3-item ($\alpha = .83$) 7-point scale ranging from 1 – “not at all” to 7 – “very much so”, with higher scores indicating greater importance of sexual orientation to one’s sense of identity, feelings of commonality, and attachment to ingroup (Hodson, Harry, et al., 2009).

Cavalier bullying beliefs (Appendix U): A 6-item ($\alpha = .81$) 7-point scale ranging from 1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree”, with higher scores indicating attitudes toward bullying that minimize and dismiss the negative impacts of bullying, including items such as “Sometimes people need to relax and realize that “bullying” is just boys being boys”. This scale is adapted from the Cavalier Humour Beliefs measure (Hodson et al., 2010). This measure was included for exploratory purposes but was not included in the analyses.

Male role norms scale (Appendix V): A condensed 6-item version of the original scale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) on 7-point scales from 1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree”, with higher scores indicating more endorsement of male role norms. I used 3 items each from two of the three factors: “toughness” ($\alpha = .75$) and “anti-femininity” ($\alpha = .77$). The “status norms” factor was not included in the measure because it taps occupational norms, not applicable to the context of bullying within a high school.

Self-reported liberalism and conservatism (Appendix W): Participants reported the extent to which they considered themselves conservative in general, in terms of economic issue, and in terms of social issue on 9-point scales ranging from 1 – “not at all” to 9 – “extremely” (Choma, Hafer, Dywan, Segalowitz, & Busseri, 2012). Responses to the three items were averaged, with higher scores indicating greater conservatism ($\alpha = .88$). Participant separately reported the extent to which they considered themselves liberal in general, in terms of economic issues, and in terms of social issues on 9-point scales ranging from 1 – “not at all” to 9 – “extremely”. Responses to these three items were averaged with higher scores indicating greater liberalism ($\alpha = .93$).

Subjective political ambivalence (Appendix X): Participants reported the extent to which they felt conflicted toward political issues in general, economic issues, and social issues, as well as the extent to which they felt ambivalent or torn toward political issues, on 5-point scales ranging from 1 – “not at all” to 5 – “completely”, with higher scores indicating greater subjective political ambivalence. Responses to the four items were averaged as an indicator of higher subjective political ambivalence ($\alpha = .86$). This measure was largely based off the measure of subjective ambivalence toward gay people (see also, Visser & Mirabile, 2004).

Demographics form (Appendix Y): At the end, participants filled out a demographics form probing age, gender, ethnic background, year in university, academic major, and sexual orientation. Participants were also asked their history with bullying, including anti-gay bullying, including their frequency of bullying instigation (both anti-gay and any bullying) and their frequency of bullying victimization (both anti-gay and any bullying) on 4-point scales from 1 - “never” to 4 - “many times”.

Results

Manipulation checks and preliminary analyses

First, I determined the effectiveness of the offensiveness and normative justification manipulations (see Table 7). Participants in the normatively justified condition rated the bullying incident as more just (*vs.* unjust) than participants in the normatively unjustified condition, ($t(191) = 2.37, d = .34, p = .02$), indicating the normative justification manipulation was successful. However, there were no significant differences in ratings of offensiveness between the low offensive and high offensive conditions, ($t(192) = .31, d = .04, p = .76$), indicating that the offensiveness manipulation

Table 7:

Means and Standard Deviations for manipulation checks within cells.

	Normatively Unjustified	Normatively Justified	Total
High Offensive			
<i>Just</i>	1.48 (.93)	1.92 (1.26)	1.69 (1.11)
<i>Offensive</i>	5.92(1.44)	6.12 (1.07)	6.01 (1.28)
Low Offensive			
<i>Just</i>	1.60 (.85)	2.06 (1.29)	1.83 (1.12)
<i>Offensive</i>	6.10 (1.28)	5.83 (1.40)	5.97 (1.34)
Total			
<i>Just</i>	1.53 (.89)	1.99 (1.27)	1.76 (1.11)
<i>Offensive</i>	6.01 (1.36)	5.97 (1.25)	5.99 (1.30)

Note. Standard deviation for each cell listed in parentheses.

was not successful. Despite the non-significant manipulation, offensiveness was retained in the model to address the original thesis proposal hypotheses. I next sought to determine if the quality of the articles was evaluated differentially based on the manipulations. Evaluation of the article was not impacted by offensiveness ($t(184) = 1.43, d = .21, p = .16$). However, evaluations of the article were impacted by normative justifications ($t(184) = 5.03, d = .74, p < .001$), such that the articles which portrayed anti-gay bullying as justified (e.g., “it’s just boys being boys”) were rated as lower quality than the articles which portrayed anti-gay bullying as unjustified (e.g., “more than just boys being boys”). This is consistent with the JSM, in that participants rejected an article which blatantly justified prejudice. It also suggests that the normative manipulation may not have been as pure as intended because participants did not view the

articles as of equal quality (which adds an additional source of variance)⁶. Thus, there are potential limitations for both the offensiveness manipulation and the normative justification manipulation.

Principal Components Analyses (Polymorphous Prejudice scale)

As in Study 1, I explored the seven factors of the Polymorphous Prejudice scale. Similar to Study 1, negative subscales (e.g., Traditional Heterosexism) tended to correlate positively with each other, positive subscales (e.g., Positive Beliefs) also tended to correlate positively with each other, yet there were only modest correlations between positive subscales and negative subscales (see Table 8). As with Study 1, it is plausible that separate negativity and positivity components could be meaningfully derived from the seven subscales.

Next, principal component loadings of the seven subscales were analyzed (see Table 9) to test for the feasibility of the two-factor model found in Study 1. The two factors account for 68.2% of the variance and have an estimated correlation of -.28. As in Study 1, there were two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, one largely negative and another largely positive. Traditional Heterosexism, Aversion Toward Lesbians, Value Gay Progress, and Aversion Toward Gay Men clearly loaded on the negative component. Resist Heteronormativity and Positive Beliefs clearly loaded on the positive component. Unlike in Study 1, Value Gay Progress only loaded on the negative component, and Denial

⁶ All moderated mediation relevant analyses were also tested controlling for evaluation of the news article. None of the results were found to be impacted; identical significant and non-significant effects were found regardless of the inclusion of evaluation of news article as a covariate.

Table8: *Correlation matrix for the seven sub-scales of Polymorphous Prejudice (Study 2)*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Traditional Heterosexism	.94	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.61	.83
2. Deny Continued Discrimination	.35***	.79	-	-	-	-	-	3.02	.61
3. Aversion Toward Gay Men	.71***	.26***	.87	-	-	-	-	1.95	.74
4 Aversion Toward Lesbians	.72***	.22**	.71***	.89	-	-	-	2.03	.75
5. Value Gay Progress	-.81***	-.37***	-.60***	-.67***	.94	-	-	3.78	.97
6. Resist Heteronormativity	-.16*	-.19**	-.07	-.17*	.22**	.84	-	2.21	.82
7. Positive Beliefs	-.09	-.10	-.06	-.00	.19**	.27***	.88	2.59	.78

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. All sub-scales on a 1-5 scale. Scale reliabilities are listed on the diagonals.

Table 9:

Principal Components Analysis of Polymorphous Prejudice (Study 2)

Component	Negative	Positive
Aversion Toward Gay Men	.885	-.147
Traditional Heterosexism	.932	-.265
Value Gay Progress	-.886	.371
Aversion Toward Lesbians	.897	-.175
Denial of Continued Discrimination	.448	-.462
Positive Beliefs	-.222	.748
Resist Heteronormativity	-.131	.779
Eigen value	3.57	1.20
Variance accounted for	51.0%	17.1%

Note. Derived from the structure matrix of inter-item correlations with Oblimin rotation.

of Continued Discrimination loaded on both the positive and negative components equally. As noted previously (see Footnote 2), due to these inconsistent loadings across studies, Value Gay Progress and Denial of Continued Discrimination were not used in the calculations of negativity or positivity in either Study 1 or Study 2.

I next explored the relation between subjective ambivalence and several of the exploratory variables to further test the construct validity of the subjective ambivalence measure (see Table 10)⁷. As in Study 1, higher subjective ambivalence was associated with higher RWA and SDO ($ps < .001$). Unlike Study 1, the relation with RWA did not hold after controlling for negativity ($ps > .05$). Higher subjective ambivalence was associated with higher heterosexual identification, stronger belief that men should be tough, stronger belief that men should not be feminine, stronger self-identified

⁷ Because all variables in Table 10 except for subjective ambivalence and negativity were measured after the manipulations, I tested whether the relations between subjective ambivalence and the correlates (e.g. RWA, SDO) were qualified by interactions. I found a 3-way interaction predicting RWA ($p = .049$). None of the other 2-way or 3-way interactions were significant (all $ps > .10$).

Table 10:

Bivariate and partial correlations predicting prejudice-relevant variables from subjective ambivalence and negativity (Study 2)

	Subjective Ambivalence		Negativity Factor	
RWA	.43***	(.05)	.61***	(.47***)
SDO	.38***	(.12)	.46***	(.30***)
Heterosexual Identification	.21**	(-.01)	.33***	(.26***)
Toughness Norms	.22**	(.03)	.30***	(.21**)
Anti-Femininity Norms	.45***	(.17*)	.52***	(.33***)
Self-Identified Conservatism	.39***	(.18*)	.41***	(.22**)
Self-Identified Liberalism	-.18*	(-.10)	-.16*	(-.05)
Subjective Political Ambivalence	.05	(.02)	.05	(.02)

*Note. Partial correlations are in parentheses. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$*

conservatism, and weaker self-identified liberalism ($ps < .05$). However, only conservatism and the belief that men should not be feminine were associated with subjective ambivalence after controlling for negativity ($ps < .05$). Likewise, negativity was also related to higher RWA, higher SDO, higher heterosexual identification, stronger belief that men should be tough, stronger belief that men should not be feminine, stronger self-identified conservatism, and weaker self-identified liberalism, consistent with Study 1. All of the significant relations between negativity and the variables of interest held after accounting for subjective ambivalence (with the exception of self-identified liberalism), which is largely consistent with Study 1. Subjective Political Ambivalence did not correlate with either subjective ambivalence or negativity, which indicates that there is not overlap between subjective ambivalence toward gay people and subjective political ambivalence.

Principal Components Analysis (of Outcome Measures)

Next, a principal components analysis was performed on all 29 semantic differential items measuring anti-gay bullying opposition to determine if items related to the bullying incident, the victim, or the bully loaded onto separate components. All items were entered into the analysis in the same format as participants answered items (i.e. items that were intended to be later reverse scored were kept in raw score format). As expected, the items loaded on three separate components, consistent with measuring separate attitudes toward the bullying incident, victim, and bully (see Table 11). The three components combined account for 65.7% of the variance. Bullying incident attitude had an estimated correlation of .65 with bully attitude and an estimate correlation of -.33 with victim attitude. Attitude toward the bully and attitude toward the victim had an estimated correlation of -.27. One opposition to the bullying incident item (surprising-not surprising) and one opposition to the bully item (harmful-unharmful) did not load on either of the three factors, and were therefore not included in the scales derived. The dependent measures (excluding these two items) (i.e., indicators of opposition to anti-gay bullying) consist of a 10-item measure of bullying incident opposition (DV1) ($\alpha = .86$), an 8-item measure of bully opposition (DV2) ($\alpha = .93$), and a 9-item measure of victim support (DV3) ($\alpha = .95$). “Victim support” was determined by reverse-coding the semantic differential scores for attitudes toward the victim. This was done so that all three measures indicated more opposition to anti-gay bullying.

Bullying incident opposition strongly correlates with bully opposition ($r = .69, p < .001$). However, victim support only moderately correlates with bullying incident opposition ($r = .28, p < .001$) and bully opposition ($r = .31, p < .001$), indicating independence between

Table 11:
Principal component analysis of items assessing attitude toward the bullying incident, the bully, and the victim (Study 2)

Item	Incident	Bully	Victim
Incident: Good - Bad	.830	.375	-.107
Incident: Relaxed - Angry	.795	.340	-.058
Incident: Happy - Sad	.782	.349	-.163
Incident: Love - Hate	.761	.283	-.129
Incident: Like Dislike	.761	.341	-.131
Incident: Positive - Negative	.760	.434	-.090
Incident: Acceptance - Disgusted	.733	.510	-.126
Incident: Acceptable - Unacceptable	.673	.471	-.046
Incident: Just – Unjust	.669	.315	-.103
Incident: Desirable - Undesirable	.642	.356	-.257
Incident: Offensive - Inoffensive	-.578	-.094	.071
Incident: Harmful - Unharmful	-.356	-.067	-.018
Incident: Surprising – Not surprising	.203	-.011	.101
Bully: Like – Dislike	.288	.882	-.118
Bully: Positive - Negative	.316	.858	-.190
Bully: Acceptance - Disgusted	.379	.853	-.135
Bully: Good - Bad	.382	.831	-.098
Bully: Relaxed - Angry	.396	.817	-.210
Bully: Happy - Sad	.385	.791	-.258
Bully: Desirable - Undesirable	.312	.760	-.123
Bully: Love - Hate	.496	.604	-.039
Bully: Harmful - Unharmful	-.247	-.285	-.017
Victim: Good - Bad	-.053	-.189	.907
Victim: Positive - Negative	-.081	-.060	.891
Victim: Acceptance - Disgusted	-.156	.010	.841
Victim: Desirable - Undesirable	-.101	-.128	.831
Victim: Like - Dislike	-.025	-.198	.829
Victim: Relaxed - Angry	-.041	.091	.784
Victim: Happy - Sad	-.128	.041	.765
Victim: Love - Hate	-.009	-.293	.652
Victim: Harmful - Unharmful	.022	.230	-.521
Eigen value	14.06	5.08	1.89
Variance accounted for	43.9%	15.9%	5.9%

the measures, and also indicating that creating an indicator from all three dependent variables might create statistical noise. For the purpose of the thesis, my main interest concerns bullying incident opposition (as the broadest measure of attitude toward anti-gay bullying), and will therefore be the focus of the analyses.⁸

Moderated mediation analyses

Bivariate correlations were then examined for all variables in the moderated mediation model (see Table 12)⁹. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, higher subjective ambivalence predicted less bully incident opposition ($r = -.29, p < .001$). Higher subjective ambivalence was also associated with more negativity (i.e., negative univalent attitudes toward gay people) ($r = .66, p < .001$), consistent with Study 1. Negativity was also associated with less bullying incident opposition ($r = -.48, p < .001$). This indicates conceptual overlap between subjective ambivalence and negativity, consistent with Study 1, and further suggests that negativity should be taken into account when seeking to consider the unique effect of subjective ambivalence. Higher subjective ambivalence was not associated with positivity (i.e., positive attitudes toward gay people), and positivity was not associated with any of the three dependent variables, indicating positivity is unlikely to meaningfully alter the effects of subjective ambivalence. Positivity was retained in the model to maintain consistency with the statistical approach in Study 1. I proposed that higher subjective ambivalence would predict lower anti-gay bullying opposition through lower intergroup empathy and lower collective guilt. Consistent with this prediction, higher subjective ambivalence was associated with less intergroup

⁸ Analyses concerning bully opposition and victim support are included in Appendix AA and Appendix AB.

⁹ See Appendix AA for supplementary moderated mediation analyses.

Table 12: Bivariate correlations for dependent variables, moderators, mediators, and independent variables for the moderated mediation model (Study 2)

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Subjective Ambivalence	-						1.68	.84
2. Positivity	-.07	-					2.39	.64
3. Negativity	.66***	-.13	-				2.19	.70
4. Intergroup Empathy	-.48***	.14*	-.54***	-			4.99	1.35
5. Collective Guilt	-.14	.29***	-.30***	.40***	-		4.21	1.38
6. Bullying Incident Opposition	-.29***	.05	-.48***	.49***	.40***	-	6.09	.69

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ † $p < .10$

empathy ($r = -.48, p < .001$), and less intergroup empathy was associated with less bullying incident opposition ($r = -.48, p < .001$). Higher subjective ambivalence was also marginally associated with less collective guilt ($r = .14, p = .053$), and less collective guilt was associated with less bullying incident opposition ($r = .40, p < .001$), indicating that collective guilt may also potentially mediate the relation between subjective ambivalence and less anti-gay bullying opposition.

A mediation approach was used to test whether subjective ambivalence predicted less bullying incident opposition, and whether this relation was mediated by intergroup empathy and collective guilt (see Table 13). Consistent with the first hypothesis, greater subjective ambivalence predicted less bullying incident opposition ($\beta = -.29, p < .001$) in Step 1. Greater subjective ambivalence also predicted lower intergroup empathy ($\beta = -.48, p < .001$) in Step 2a but did not significantly predict lower collective guilt ($\beta = -.14, p = .053$) in Step 2b. Further, subjective ambivalence no longer significantly predicted less bullying incident opposition after accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt (see Table 13, Step 3), yet each mediator significantly predicted the outcome variable ($ps < .001$). This indicates that, consistent with H2, intergroup empathy and collective guilt can account for the negative association between subjective ambivalence and bullying incident opposition.

Table 13:
Mediation model predicting bullying incident opposition (standardized coefficients)
(Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV) Bullying Incident Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV) Bullying Incident Opposition
Subjective Ambivalence	-.29***	-.48***	-.14	-.08
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.35***
Intergroup Guilt	-	-	-	.25***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ MV = Mediator; DV = Dependent Variable

Indirect effects were then tested utilizing PROCESS software Model 4 (Hayes, 2013). Testing for indirect effects allows me to further examine the mediating effect of intergroup empathy and collective guilt, examining the extent to which subjective ambivalence has an effect of anti-gay bullying opposition *through* the mediating variables (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). The PROCESS software macro utilizes SPSS to test complex models of moderation, mediation, and indirect effects. PROCESS utilizes bootstrapping procedures with 1000 iterations to estimate the size and probability of direct effects, moderated effects, indirect effects, and moderated indirect effects (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). This analysis allows me to test the unique mediating effect of intergroup empathy and collective guilt simultaneously (unlike the regression analyses utilized above). A significant effect is indicated by confidence intervals that do not include the value zero. There was a significant indirect effect of subjective ambivalence on bullying incident opposition through intergroup empathy ($b = -.06$, $LL = -.1318$, $UL = -.0156$), as expected. However, there was no significant indirect effect through collective

guilt ($b = .00$, $LL = -.0157$, $UL = .0285$). This finding indicates that, of the two hypothesized mediators, only intergroup empathy played a significant mediating role.

Moderated mediation analyses (controlling for univalent attitudes)

Next, I sought to determine if the paths from subjective ambivalence to the mediators (intergroup empathy and collective guilt) were moderated by the manipulations of normativity and offensiveness, and if the path from subjective ambivalence to bully incident opposition was likewise moderated. In particular, I sought to determine whether the direct and moderated effects of subjective ambivalence predicted bully incident opposition over and above univalent negative and positive attitudes toward gay people. Centered scores were obtained for subjective ambivalence scores by subtracting the sample mean from individual scores. The normative justifications variables were dummy coded by scoring absence of normative justification as 0 and the presence of normative justification as 1. The same method was used for offensiveness, scoring offensive as 0 and inoffensive as 1 (such that “1” represents the presence of justification factors and “0” represents the absence of justification factors for both manipulations). All two-way interactions were then calculated by multiplying the scores for each of the two sets of variables. Finally, a three-way interaction term was calculated by multiplying scores for all three variables.

Subjective ambivalence did not independently predict anti-gay bullying opposition (see Table 14). Stronger negativity predicted less bullying incident opposition ($\beta = -.44$, $p < .001$), less intergroup empathy ($\beta = -.38$, $p < .001$), and less collective guilt ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .001$). Positivity was not related to bullying incident opposition or intergroup empathy, but stronger positivity was associated with more collective guilt ($\beta =$

Table: 14

Moderated mediation model predicting bullying incident opposition controlling for positivity and negativity (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV) Bullying Incident Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV) Bullying Incident Opposition
Subjective Ambivalence	.07	-.20*	.12	.09
Positivity Factor	-.01	.10	.26***	-.10
Negativity Factor	-.44***	-.38***	-.32***	-.25*
Offensiveness	-.06	-.05	.02	-.03
Normativity	-.07	-.02	.15*	-.09
Offensiveness X Normativity	-.11	-.25*	-.02	-.04
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	.10	-.03	.03	.10
Ambivalence X Normativity	.06	-.02	-.08	.09
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.28*	-.24*	-.16	-.08
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.24**
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.25***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ MV = Mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

.26, $p < .001$). Subjective ambivalence independently predicted less intergroup empathy in Step 2a ($\beta = -.20$, $p = .01$), but there was no relation between subjective ambivalence and collective guilt in Step 2b ($\beta = .12$, $p = .20$). However, both intergroup empathy ($\beta = .24$, $p < .01$) and collective guilt ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$) continued to predict bullying incident opposition in Step 3.

The path between subjective ambivalence and bullying incident opposition was not found to be moderated by either offensiveness or normative justifications, and the

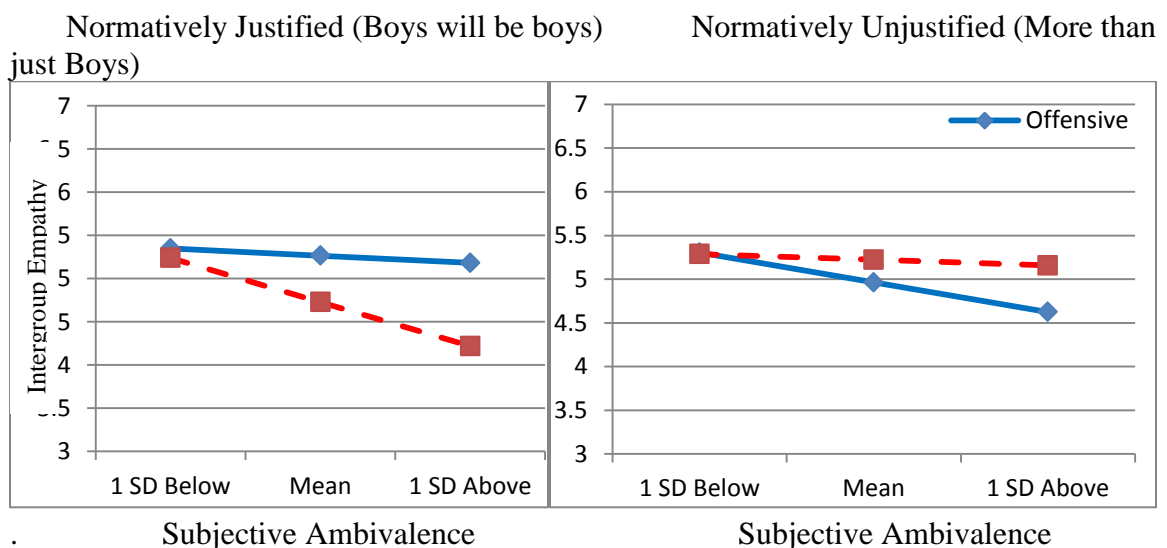
normative justifications X offensiveness interaction did not predict bullying incident opposition. In addition, the path from subjective ambivalence to intergroup empathy was not moderated by offensiveness of normative justifications. However, the normative justifications X offensiveness interaction significantly predicted intergroup empathy ($\beta = -.25, p = .01$). Within the normatively unjustified conditions, there was a tendency toward lower intergroup empathy in the high offensiveness condition ($M = 4.89$) as compared to the low offensiveness condition ($M = 5.26$), though this difference was not significant ($t(94) = -1.38, p = .17$). Within the normatively justified condition, there was a tendency toward *higher* intergroup empathy in the high offensiveness condition ($M = 5.21$) as compared to the low offensiveness condition ($M = 4.83$), though this difference was also not significant ($t(88) = 1.44, p = .15$). Thus, the significant interaction effect reflects the opposing directions of the effect of offensiveness depending upon the normative justifications within the article. However, the non-significant within-condition effects indicate one should not read too much into this interaction.

The three way interaction between subjective ambivalence, normative justifications and offensiveness was found to significantly predict intergroup empathy¹⁰ ($\beta = -.24, p = .03$) (see Table 13). This indicates that the contextual component of subjective ambivalence (i.e., the influences of social factors on the relation between subjective ambivalence and bias expression) is separate from univalent positive and negative attitudes. The finding that the interaction would be significant after accounting for positivity and negativity is consistent with Hypothesis 5.

¹⁰ This 3-way interaction only marginally predicted intergroup empathy when positivity and negativity were not entered in the model (see Supplemental Table 1), which may indicate that the interaction is not robust.

To explore these findings further, 2-way interactions between subjective ambivalence and offensiveness predicting intergroup empathy were performed within the normativity justified condition and, separately, within the normatively unjustified condition (see Figure 2). Within the normatively justified condition (i.e., boys will be boys), there was a main effect of subjective ambivalence on intergroup empathy ($\beta = -.36, p = .01$) but no interaction between subjective ambivalence and offensiveness ($\beta = -.20, p = .09$). Within the normatively unjustified condition (i.e., more than just boys being boys), there was no effect of subjective ambivalence on intergroup empathy ($\beta = -.08, p = .46$), and no interaction between subjective ambivalence and offensiveness ($\beta = .14, p = .20$). Although the relation between subjective ambivalence and intergroup empathy appears strongest in the low offensiveness, normatively justified condition (consistent with my predictions), the non-significant 2-way interactions indicate there is not reliable support for the predicted 3-way interaction.

Figure 2:
3-way interaction between subjective ambivalence, offensiveness, and normative justification predicting intergroup empathy (controlling for positivity and negativity) (Study 2)



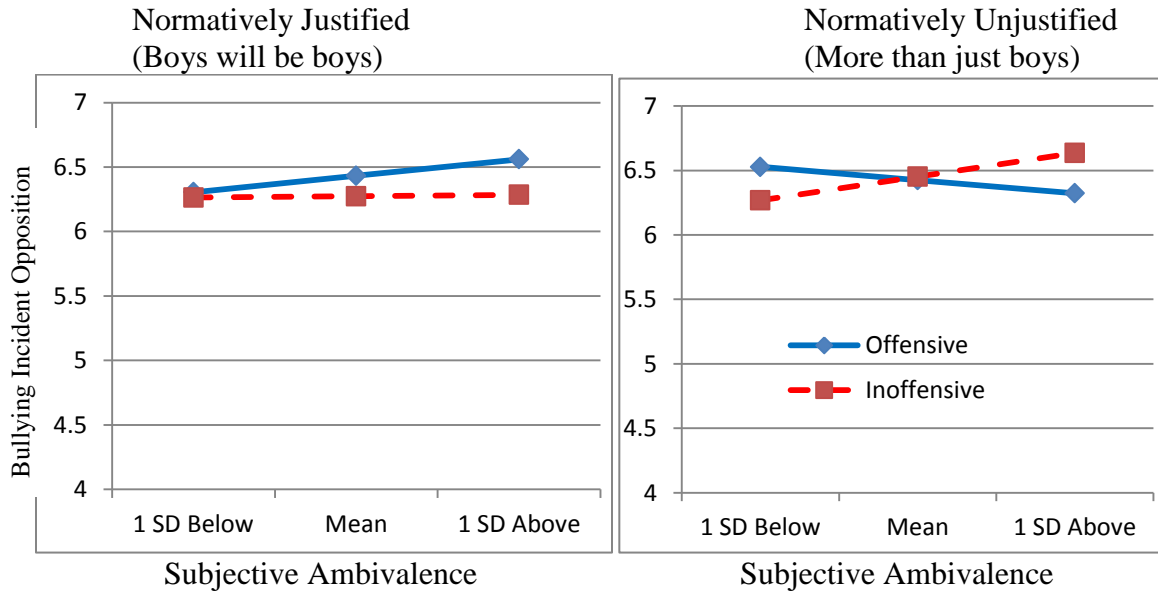
In addition, the three-way interaction was found to significantly predict bullying incident opposition¹¹ ($\beta = -.24, p = .02$). This finding is also consistent with Hypothesis 5. As with the three-way interaction predicting empathy, this interaction was further examined by performing two-way interactions within the normatively justified condition and within the normatively unjustified condition (see Figure 3). Within the normatively justified condition, there was no interaction between subjective ambivalence and offensiveness ($\beta = -.11, p = .43$). Within the normatively unjustified condition, there was a significant interaction between subjective ambivalence and offensiveness ($\beta = .31, p = .01$), such that there was a negative slope of subjective ambivalence predicting bullying incident opposition in the offensive condition, but a positive slope of subjective ambivalence predicting bullying incident opposition in the inoffensive condition (see Figure 3). This finding runs contrary to my predictions, as I expected there to be a stronger interaction in the normatively justified condition due to higher justifications for expressing prejudice.

Simple slopes analyses (predicting bullying incident opposition from subjective ambivalence) were then performed for the significant 2-way interaction within the normatively unjustified condition. (see West et al., 1996). The slopes for subjective ambivalence predicting bully incident opposition were not significant within either of the two conditions. Thus, although there appears to be a negative slope in the offensive condition and a positive slope in the inoffensive condition, I discourage the reader from reading too much into these effects.

¹¹ As with the 3-way interaction predicting intergroup empathy, the 3-way interaction predicting bullying incident support was only marginally significant when positivity and negativity were not included in the model.

Figure 3:

Three-way interaction between subjective ambivalence, offensiveness, and normative justifications predicting bullying incident opposition (DVI) controlling for positivity and negativity (Study 2)



Mediated Moderation Analyses.

As mentioned previously, the original proposal hypotheses were framed in terms of mediated moderation rather than moderated mediation. Therefore, I next examine the effects of subjective ambivalence on bullying incident opposition from a mediated moderation approach¹².

A mediated moderation model was used to analyze the potential for a three-way interaction on bullying incident opposition after controlling for positivity and negativity (see Table 15). Stronger negativity predicted less bullying incident opposition ($\beta = -.44, p < .001$), less intergroup empathy in Step 2a ($\beta = -.38, p < .001$), and less collective guilt in Step 2b ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$). Stronger positivity did not predict bullying incident opposition or intergroup empathy, but did predict more collective guilt ($\beta = .26, p < .001$).

¹² Supplementary mediated moderation analyses are included in Appendix AB.

.001). None of the 2-way interactions were significant. However, the 3-way interaction predicting bullying incident opposition in Step 1 was significant ($\beta = -.28, p = .02$). There was a significant interaction between subjective ambivalence and offensiveness within the normativity unjustified condition ($\beta = .31, p = .01$), but no interaction between subjective ambivalence and offensiveness in the normatively justified condition ($\beta = -.11, p = .43$), suggesting the relation between subjective ambivalence and anti-gay bullying opposition was not significantly stronger or weaker in the key low offensiveness, normatively justified condition as compared to the high offensiveness, normatively justified condition. Simple slopes of subjective ambivalence predicting bullying incident opposition were then performed for the significant 2-way interaction within the normatively unjustified condition (see West et al., 1996). The slopes for subjective ambivalence predicting bully incident opposition were not significant within either of the two conditions. Thus, although there appears to be a negative slope in the offensive condition and a positive slope in the inoffensive condition, I discourage the reader from reading too much into these effects. Thus, although there is a 3-way interaction, the pattern of results is not consistent with my predictions.

After accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt in Step 3, the 3-way interaction was no longer significant ($\beta = -.18, p = .12$). This demonstrates that the 3-way interaction is mediated by collective guilt and intergroup empathy, such that the significant differences between the two 2-way interactions can be explained by collective guilt and intergroup empathy. However, because neither of the simple slopes of subjective ambivalence predicting bullying incident opposition were significant,

Table: 15

*Mediated moderation model predicting bullying incident opposition
controlling for positivity and negativity (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)*

Predictor	Step 1 (DV) Bullying Incident Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV) Bullying Incident Opposition
Subjective Ambivalence	.07	-.20*	.12	.09
Positivity Factor	-.01	.10	.26***	-.10
Negativity Factor	-.44***	-.38***	-.32***	-.25*
Offensiveness	-.06	-.05	.02	-.03
Normativity	-.07	-.02	.15*	-.09
Offensiveness X Normativity	-.11	-.25*	-.02	-.04
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	.10	-.03	.03	.10
Ambivalence X Normativity	.06	-.02	-.08	.09
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.28*	-.24*	-.16	-.18
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.26***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.26***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ MV = mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

it is not clear what effects are accounted for by intergroup empathy and collective guilt, and the reader is cautioned to not read much into this finding.

Ancillary Analyses.

I also analyzed the impact of frequency of past bullying instigation (in general and due to perceived sexual orientation) and more frequency of past bullying

victimization (in general and due to perceived sexual orientation) on anti-gay bullying opposition. Frequency of past bullying instigation due to the victim's perceived sexual orientation, frequency of past bullying generally, frequency of bullying victimization due to perceived sexual orientation, and frequency of bullying victimization were not related to bullying incident opposition. In addition, none of these past bullying variables were related to subjective ambivalence (all $ps > .10$). Therefore, I did not further explore these variables.

Discussion

Overall, I found clear support for the prediction that intrapsychic factors (particularly intergroup empathy) mediate the effect of subjective ambivalence on anti-gay bullying opposition, and limited support for social context moderating the impact of subjective ambivalence. Consistent with Hypothesis 1 (and also consistent with findings from Study 1), higher subjective ambivalence was associated with less bullying incident opposition (although this pattern was obtained only when the positive and negative attitude components were not controlled for, contrary to Hypothesis 5). Higher subjective ambivalence was associated with lower intergroup empathy and (marginally) with lower collective guilt. Further, supporting Hypothesis 2, the effects of subjective ambivalence on bullying incident opposition was mediated by intergroup empathy, with a significant indirect effect of subjective ambivalence on bullying incident opposition through decreased intergroup empathy. Although there was a marginal relation between higher subjective ambivalence and lower collective guilt, there was not a significant indirect effect through collective guilt.

There was no direct effect of the normative justifications or offensiveness on acceptance of anti-gay bullying (i.e., participants found all of the different bullying contexts equally unacceptable). In addition, the manipulation check for offensiveness failed, and participants viewed the normatively justified articles as poorly written, indicating the manipulations may have not been as pure as intended. Therefore, the largely non-significant moderation effects could be due to weak manipulations. This is particularly a concern for interpreting interaction effects on bully incident opposition. The mean was 6.09 on a 1-7 scale, indicating that opposition to the bullying was very high. This may have attenuated the effects of the manipulations, and therefore limited the statistical power for detecting interactions.

I found there was very little tolerance of the bullying (as measured by how “good” or “bad” participants considered the bullying). This is in stark contrast to survey findings indicating that anti-gay bullying is widely tolerated in society (Kosciw et al., 2010). This divergence may be because this particular context of bullying elicited strong opposition, given that the bullying was direct and unprovoked. However, anti-gay bullying tends to be particularly severe (Rivers & Carragher, 2003), suggesting the type of anti-gay bullying portrayed in this study was not substantially distinct from the type of anti-gay bullying which is prevalent in society. It is also possible that there was response bias due to social pressures to react negatively to a specific case of anti-gay bullying, especially in a lab setting. It may be of interest why anti-gay bullying is so widely tolerated in society, given that anti-gay bullying was so widely condemned in a laboratory setting.

Contrary to Hypothesis 5, the bivariate negative associations between subjective ambivalence and bullying incident opposition did not hold above the negative and

positive components of attitudes, which indicates that a large portion of the tendency for higher subjective ambivalence to be associated with less bullying incident opposition could be explained by the higher intergroup negativity associated with higher subjective ambivalence. Although there was no direct effect of subjective ambivalence on bully incident opposition after accounting for positivity and negativity, the negative relation between subjective ambivalence and intergroup empathy (i.e., a mediator) was significant over and above negativity and positivity, which indicates that subjective ambivalence is associated with an emotional disconnect from gay people independently of univalent negativity.

Tests of the subjective ambivalence by normativity and tests of the subjective ambivalence by offensiveness manipulations revealed non-significant interactions. Therefore, I found no support for Hypothesis 3. However, there were three-way interactions between subjective ambivalence, normative justifications, and offensiveness predicting both intergroup empathy and bullying incident opposition after controlling for positivity and negativity, consistent with Hypothesis 4. The effect of the three-way interaction on bully incident support was not consistent with the JSM, and no clear patterns were detectable from the interactions which either support or challenge previous theory. Thus, although there is some support for the moderating effect of social factors on the relation between subjective ambivalence and intergroup bias, the contextual effects are not completely consistent, and therefore, support for Hypothesis 4 is limited.

Hypothesis 5 stipulated that the proposed model would hold after controlling statistically for the influence of positivity and negativity. I found partial support for this hypothesis. Although subjective ambivalence did not uniquely predict bullying incident

opposition or collective guilt, subjective ambivalence *was* uniquely negatively associated with intergroup empathy (itself a predictor of bullying incident opposition). In addition the 3-way interactions predicting intergroup empathy and bullying incident opposition were independent of negativity and positivity, further supporting Hypothesis 5.

I found partial support for Hypothesis 6, in that the 3-way interaction on bullying incident opposition was significant; however, neither of the 2-way moderating effects of subjective ambivalence were significant. Further, in support of Hypothesis 7, the 3-way interaction on bullying incident opposition was not significant after accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt, indicating mediated moderation.

Conclusions

The main finding of Study 1 was that subjective ambivalence was associated with negativity and *not* positivity. This finding was conceptually replicated in Study 2: Higher subjective ambivalence was associated with less opposition to an incident of anti-gay bullying. In addition, higher subjective ambivalence was associated with lower intergroup empathy and (marginally) lower collective guilt over historical treatment of gay people. These findings further support the JSM's assertion that ambivalence can be associated with intergroup negativity (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003).

When not controlling statistically for the negative attitude component, the relation between higher subjective ambivalence and higher bias can be accounted for (or explained) by lower empathy toward gay people, with an indirect effect of higher subjective ambivalence predicting less anti-gay bullying opposition through decreased empathy (but not collective guilt). This suggests, consistent with my predictions, that the mechanism that facilitates subjective ambivalence leading to greater bias is the emotional

“disconnect” from the marginalized group as a means of expressing negativity. These findings provide further evidence for the importance of intergroup emotions, particularly intergroup empathy, in understanding expressions of prejudice, although this mediation was only found when univalent attitudes were not included in the model.

The direct relation between subjective ambivalence and bias was not significant over and above univalent negativity. This indicates that negative attitudes associated with higher subjective ambivalence are, in part, due to the overlap between subjective ambivalence and univalent negativity, which provides further support that negative attitudes are an important aspect of subjective ambivalence. However, subjective ambivalence was independently associated with lower intergroup empathy. Consistent with Study 1, this finding further suggests that although subjective ambivalence overlaps with negativity, it nonetheless predicts intergroup-relevant constructs (such as empathy for an outgroup) over and above univalent negativity.

The 3-way interaction between subjective ambivalence, offensiveness, and normative justifications on bullying incident support was significant after accounting for the univalent (positive and negative) components of attitudes. Although one two-way interaction was significant (with a non-significant positive slope in one condition and a non-significant negative slope in the other condition), there were no clear, discernible patterns within the results which could be explained by past theory. Further, the pattern of results found is not consistent with the JSM or aversive racism literatures, which would predict a particularly strong negative relation between subjective ambivalence and bullying incident opposition when justifications are present or salient. A response amplification to ambivalence approach would predict that subjective ambivalence would

be positively related to bullying incident opposition when social conditions indicate one should support gay people, but that subjective ambivalence would be negatively related to bully incident opposition when social conditions indicate one should not support gay people. The 3-way interaction is also inconsistent with this framing.

The 3-way interaction predicting bully incident support (after accounting for positivity and negativity) was mediated by intergroup empathy, consistent with the original mediated moderation prediction. However, interpretation of this finding is not clear because the 3-way interaction predicting intergroup empathy and the 3-way interaction predicting bullying incident opposition were incongruent in that the 2-way interactions predicting bullying incident opposition and intergroup empathy were inconsistent. Therefore, although I found a predicted 3-way interaction consistent with the JSM, the interpretation of this finding are only partially consistent with the expected pattern of results and should be interpreted with caution. The power to detect interactions may have been limited by weak or insufficient manipulations, as indicated by the non-significant manipulation check for the offensiveness manipulation.

Broadly speaking, the findings indicate there is strong overlap between subjective ambivalence and negativity toward gay people. However, the findings also indicate that there is a unique component of subjective ambivalence which has predictive power in predicting low intergroup empathy, over and above the univalent components of attitudes. These findings are largely consistent with Study 1, further suggesting that subjective ambivalence is primarily associated with negativity toward an outgroup target. However, these results expand upon the findings of Study 1 and indicate that the component of subjective ambivalence which is independent from univalent attitudes is

related to a tendency toward lower intergroup empathy. Thus, Study 2 increases our understanding of *why* subjective ambivalence is associated with negativity, in that the negative effects of subjective ambivalence can be accounted for by lower intergroup empathy. Further, subjective ambivalence uniquely predicts intergroup empathy above and beyond univalent attitudes, and in turn intergroup empathy uniquely predicts less anti-gay bullying opposition over and above univalent attitudes.

General Discussion

The present investigation demonstrates that subjective ambivalence is associated with negative intergroup expressions across several contexts. Across both studies, the results of my attempts to understand these negative expressions were consistent with several aspects of the JSM. I found evidence for justification and suppression factors playing a significant role in the relation between subjective ambivalence and negative expressions. Particularly, intergroup empathy served as a mediator of the effect of subjective ambivalence on opposition to anti-gay bullying, with subjective ambivalence predicting less opposition to anti-gay bullying through decreased intergroup empathy. In addition, I found limited support for social context moderating the effects of subjective ambivalence. That is, the mixed patterns of results for the three-way interactions were only partially consistent with the JSM, and none of the two-way interactions were significant. Contrary to the JSM framework, I found no strong evidence for contextual sensitivity associated with subjective ambivalence. However, consistent with the JSM, I found relatively strong evidence that reports of feeling torn (i.e., subjective ambivalence) are largely characterized by negative reactions toward the target group.

Both studies support the notion that subjective ambivalence largely predicts negative intergroup expressions, as opposed to many popular conceptions of ambivalence emphasizing the potential for both strong negative *and* strong positive intergroup expressions (see Bell & Esses, 1996; Conner & Sparks, 2002). Principal component analyses in both studies found that subjective ambivalence clearly and strongly loads on the negative factor of the Polymorphous Prejudice scale, but does not load on the positive factor. More in-depth analyses further suggest that subjective ambivalence captures a negative intergroup attitude, predicting less support for gay people, stronger anti-gay emotions, and greater anti-gay ideology. I also found very little evidence that subjective ambivalence can lead to positive expressions toward gays and lesbians, and that even after accounting for negativity, subjective ambivalence uniquely predicted negative expressions in certain contexts.

Below, I outline several themes summarizing the key findings.

Theme 1: Subjective ambivalence and less support for gay people

Higher subjective ambivalence predicted less support for gay and lesbian civil rights in Study 1. In Study 2, higher subjective ambivalence predicted less opposition to anti-gay bullying in the form of less bullying incident opposition. Higher subjective ambivalence (before controlling for univalent attitudes) was found to predict less anti-gay bullying opposition regardless of the offensiveness of the bullying or the normative justifications, suggesting the effect is context-independent. Thus, subjective ambivalence consistently predicted negative reactions in the form of lower support for gay people. Consistent with the JSM, therefore, subjective ambivalence was associated with negativity. However, the fact that subjective ambivalence predicts less support for gays

and lesbians regardless of the context, and that subjective ambivalence consistently demonstrated strong overlap with univalent negative attitudes, suggests that a large portion of subjective ambivalence actually reflects individual differences in negativity toward gay people. In contrast I found very little evidence for contextual sensitivity, although the tests of moderation may have been limited by the weak manipulations.

Theme 2: Subjective ambivalence and anti-gay emotion expression

My assertion that higher subjective ambivalence largely consists of negativity is also supported by the consistent association between higher subjective ambivalence and more anti-gay emotions (i.e., stronger emotions against gay people and weaker emotions in support of gay people). Higher subjective ambivalence was associated with negative intergroup emotions in the form of higher intergroup disgust sensitivity (Study 1), lower collective guilt (Study 2), and lower intergroup empathy (Study 2). Further, higher subjective ambivalence was associated with both higher intergroup disgust and lower intergroup empathy independently of univalent positivity and negativity.

These findings suggest that intergroup empathy is particularly important for understanding the effects of subjective ambivalence. Intergroup empathy mediated the path between subjective ambivalence and opposition to anti-gay bullying, with indirect effects of subjective ambivalence through intergroup empathy. This provides new insights into the *intrapsychic* processes involved in subjective ambivalence. Whereas factors such as intergroup empathy and social norms are sometimes portrayed as causes of prejudice, the JSM posits that such factors may actually act as mediators between genuine prejudicial feelings and the expression of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). These findings indicate that lower intergroup empathy may facilitate the

expression of higher subjective ambivalence by enabling emotional disconnect from the negative experiences of the outgroup.

I did not find strong of evidence for lower collective guilt mediating the relation between higher subjective ambivalence and anti-gay bullying opposition. The ability to detect the mediating effect of collective guilt may have been limited by its modest reliability ($\alpha = .71$). However, the collective guilt measure demonstrated comparable reliability to that of past research (e.g., Bahns & Branscombe, 2011), and there were strong relations between collective guilt and both negativity ($r = -.30$) and bullying incident opposition ($r = .40$), indicating that the reliability of collective guilt was adequate enough to test mediation effects. Nonetheless, future research would benefit from more reliable measurement of this construct.

Theme 3: Subjective ambivalence and anti-gay ideologies and cultural beliefs

Subjective ambivalence is associated with anti-gay ideologies (i.e., stronger ideological opposition and weaker ideological support), including higher Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Study 1 & 2), higher Social Dominance Orientation (Study 1 & 2), higher Religious Fundamentalism (Study 1 & 2), more self-reported conservatism (Study 2), and less self-reported liberalism (Study 2). Higher subjective ambivalence was also associated with stronger beliefs that men should be tough and not feminine, and stronger identification with being heterosexual (Study 2), which are all associated with stronger negativity. These findings further suggest that subjective ambivalence represents a negative intergroup attitude. It also suggests that, although there are similarities between the concepts of aversive racism and subjective ambivalence, there are also important distinctions. Although subjective ambivalence does not overtly (i.e., on the surface)

reflect negativity, subjective ambivalence toward gay people predicts negative reactions toward gay people. This is similar to the aversive racism framework, in that aversive racists express bias despite asserting that they are not prejudiced (Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002; Hodson, Hooper, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2005). However, whereas aversive racists tend to be politically liberal and value egalitarianism (see also Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003), these findings suggest that high subjective ambivalence is associated with authoritarianism (captured by RWA), the devaluing of egalitarianism (captured by SDO), and the bipolar measure of conservatism in Study 2 (although these relations are not consistently independent of univalent attitudes). Therefore, to the extent that subjective ambivalence represents a modern, subtle form of prejudice, it likely represents a form of prejudice distinct from aversive forms of subtle prejudice.

Theme 4: Subjective ambivalence and pro-gay attitudes

Whereas I consistently found a positive association between subjective ambivalence and negativity, I found very little evidence for a link between subjective ambivalence and positivity. Subjective ambivalence did not load on the positive component of the Polymorphous Prejudice scale in either study. In addition, positivity did not correlate with either subjective ambivalence or calculated ambivalence. This suggests that subjective ambivalence is associated with neither higher nor lower positivity. This stands in contrast to conceptions of ambivalence which portray the presence of both negativity *and* positivity as central to ambivalence (see Conner & Sparks, 2002).

The finding that subjective ambivalence is only associated with negativity (and *not* positivity) may be understood through the framework of the Gradual Threshold Model (GTM) of ambivalence (Priester & Petty, 1996). Unlike the approach adopted in

the present thesis, Priester and Petty (1996) utilized an open-ended measure of ambivalence which involves participants listing positive and negative reactions (i.e. mentioning traits or attitudes) toward the target. From the GTM perspective, “dominant” reactions (i.e. the number of descriptors listed on the dimension with the *most* descriptors) and “conflicting” reactions (i.e. the number of descriptors listed on the dimension with the *least* descriptors) are used to calculate ambivalence scores. Because participants may have the opposite “dominant” and “conflicting” attitudes, whether the “dominant” predictor and the “conflicting” predictor are “positive” or “negative” will vary depending on the individual. Priester and Petty (1996) have found that when there is either zero or one conflicting reaction, both dominant *and* conflicting reactions predict subjective ambivalence (Priester & Petty, 1996). Once the conflicting reactions have surpassed that threshold (i.e. there are two or greater conflicting reactions), however, only *conflicting* reactions (and *not* dominant reactions) predict subjective ambivalence.

In the present study, I found that subjective ambivalence was only associated with one dimension of attitudes toward gay people (i.e. negativity). This finding would be predicted within the GTM framework if positivity was the dominant attitude, negativity was the conflicting attitude, and the strength of the conflicting (i.e. negative) dimension was above a certain “threshold”, equivalent to two or more conflicting reactions. Supporting this assertion, the mean for scores on the positivity dimension (2.62 on a 1 to 5 scale) was higher than the mean for scores on the negativity dimension (2.11 on a 1 to 5 scale). Thus, in terms of the entire sample, the “dominant” explicitly expressed attitude was positivity. However, the extent to which I can apply past findings to the current research should be qualified. It is likely that individuals varied in which dimension of

their attitude was “dominant” and which was “conflicting” (as opposed to all participants expressing a dominant positive attitude and a conflicting negative attitude, which would be the ideal situation for comparing the present findings to past research). Although it appears that positivity was the dominant attitude in the *sample*, it is not clear that positivity was the dominant attitude within each *individual*. Therefore, “positive” and “negative” components in the present study are not directly comparable to “dominant” and “conflicting” predictors in previous research, likely presenting a great deal of statistical noise. Moreover, this research focused on the *effects* of subjective ambivalence (i.e. subjective ambivalence is treated as an IV) as opposed to GTM research, which attempts to *explain* subjective ambivalence (i.e. subjective ambivalence is treated as a DV). As a consequence, this methodology only allows for partial explanation of the relation between subjective ambivalence and its univalent components. Future research may benefit from treating subjective ambivalence as a mediator of the relation between the univalent components of attitudes and expressions toward outgroups. This approach would further enable us to understand the extent to which the effect of subjective ambivalence can be linked to univalent attitudes, and may expand linkages between attitude-focused ambivalence research (e.g. the GTM) and prejudice- focused ambivalence research (e.g. the JSM).

Theme 5: The predictive utility of negativity in a modern context

I consistently found that a “traditional” univalent measure of negative attitude toward gay people was a strong predictor of outcomes relevant to gay people. Univalent negativity was consistently strongly associated with less support for gay people, more anti-gay emotions, and more anti-gay ideologies, and was typically a stronger predictor

than subjective ambivalence. These findings indicate that blatant “traditional” negative attitudes remain relevant to understanding negative expressions toward gay people, in contrast to arguments that “traditional” measures of anti-gay prejudice now have limited utility (e.g., Morrison & Morrison, 2002). I found significant overlap between negativity and subjective ambivalence, yet subjective ambivalence uniquely predicted some forms of intergroup bias, such as lower intergroup empathy, as elaborated in the next section.

Theme 6: The statistically unique properties of subjective ambivalence

After controlling for negativity, subjective ambivalence still predicted less gay rights support (Study 1), more disgust-sensitivity (Study 1), and less intergroup empathy (Study 2). There is also evidence that subjective ambivalence is uniquely associated with stronger anti-gay ideologies, though the unique relation between subjective ambivalence and anti-gay ideologies was not consistent. These findings suggest that the component of subjective ambivalence that is sensitive to context is independent of univalent positive and negative attitude, and that the three-way interaction between subjective ambivalence, offensiveness, and normative justifications can be accounted for by intergroup empathy. Thus, there is some limited evidence for a unique component of subjective ambivalence that is associated with sensitivity to context. However, one must take into account that several hypothesized interactions were non-significant, including most of the 2-way interactions. In addition, the pattern of the 3-way interactions was only partially consistent with predictions. Therefore, although there is strong support that subjective ambivalence is closely allied with the negative (but not positive) univalent attitudes toward gay people, and strong support for lower intergroup empathy facilitating negative expressions, there is inconsistent evidence for a unique “negative” aspect of subjective

ambivalence and minimal support for a “context-dependent” aspect of subjective ambivalence (in that interaction effects in Study 2 were largely non-significant or inconsistent).

Theoretical Synthesis

These findings indicate that subjective ambivalence represents more than just a feeling of conflict; subjective ambivalence is clearly associated with bias. Thus, reports of “feeling torn” and having “mixed feelings” toward a group may largely reflect underlying negative attitudes and emotions. Expressing one’s attitudes as conflicted and mixed may be a more intellectualized, socially acceptable method of articulating prejudiced feelings than simply saying “homosexuality is wrong” or “I dislike gay people”. In other words, subjective ambivalence may capture a modern, subtle form of prejudice. This is largely consistent with the JSM, which posits that ambivalence leads to the expression of prejudice in justified contexts (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), and suggests that subjective ambivalence bears conceptual similarity to aversive racism. However, these findings suggest that subjective ambivalence is associated with the expression of prejudice across many contexts (i.e., not just highly justified contexts). For instance, I found potential ceiling effects for opposition to anti-gay bullying, indicating that in this situation expressing negativity was likely non-normative and *not* socially acceptable. Despite these contextual pressures, there was still a consistent relation between higher subjective ambivalence and less opposition to the anti-gay bullying. Thus, these findings do not necessarily indicate that subjective ambivalence leads to bias when there are strong justification factors present as I expected. Rather, before

accounting for univalent attitudes, subjective ambivalence predicted more bias (i.e., negativity) across context.

The findings of Study 1 and particularly Study 2 highlight the importance of taking the univalent components of attitudes into account when examining the impact of ambivalence. Some researchers may have concern that controlling for positivity and negativity could remove a conceptually necessary component of ambivalence, a point certainly true if considering calculated ambivalence derived from the univalent attitudes. It was possible that removing variance in positivity and negativity would also eliminate sources of variance which are conceptually important components of ambivalence. Whereas subjective ambivalence uniquely predicted lower gay rights support in Study 1, subjective ambivalence did not uniquely predict anti-gay bullying opposition in Study 2. These findings suggest that the direct effects of subjective ambivalence do not consistently hold when including negativity in the model. Moreover, any contextually-sensitive aspects of subjective ambivalence appear to be independent of univalent attitudes, but the interaction patterns are mixed, without convincing or clear evidence of context-dependence. These findings inform us of the unique contribution of ambivalence, and indicate significant (yet not complete) overlap between subjective ambivalence and negative attitudes.

Limitations

As with all studies, there were some limitations in this project. For instance, my findings may not generalize beyond university samples. This issue may be particularly relevant for anti-gay prejudice due to cohort differences in attitudes toward gay people. There tend to be more negative attitudes toward gay people among older cohorts

compared to university age students (Herek 1984, 1991), although not true in all studies (e.g., MacInnis & Hodson, 2012).

Additionally, these results may not apply to other cultures. Whereas most Western cultures endorse egalitarian norms (and therefore generally oppose blatant forms of anti-gay bias), some cultures tolerate or even endorse blatant anti-gay bias (Hadler, 2012). In these cultures, there is likely very little suppression of anti-gay bias. Therefore, the JSM is not likely to be relevant to the understanding of anti-gay prejudice in these cultures. In addition, ambivalent attitudes toward gay people are likely uncommon in such contexts because attitudes are strongly negative. Therefore, the findings presented here may be primarily applicable to liberal, Westernized cultures.

Another important limitation is that there may have been an impact of ceiling effects in Study 2. There was generally high opposition to the anti-gay bullying across conditions. This may have attenuated contextual effects of subjective ambivalence because there was a limited range of between-group variability in that there was a limited “positive” range in which negative attitudes could be suppressed. For instance, no moderation of subjective ambivalence due to offensiveness or normative justifications was found for bully opposition. However, it may have been possible to detect interaction effects if there were more subtle measures of bias (with greater variability). Therefore, it is possible I have underestimated the importance of context on the relation between subjective ambivalence and bias expression.

A related limitation is that the manipulations of offensiveness and normative justifications may not have been strong enough in Study 2. The manipulation check for offensiveness failed, indicating that there may not have been meaningful contextual

differences. Outside the context of a thesis (e.g., in the context of attempting to publish findings), this failed manipulation check would suggest that the intended model cannot be directly tested as intended because the manipulation did not clearly manipulate offensiveness as it was intended to, and may indicate that “offensiveness” should not be included in the model. The pilot of the anti-gay terms (see Footnote 4) indicated that the low offense terms (e.g., “gay boy”) were consistently rated as less offensive than the high offense term (e.g., “fucking faggot”). However, it is possible that the bullying was considered highly offensive regardless of the terms used because the bullying was an apparently unprovoked, public attack. Adding more nuance to the situation, such as adding elements of victim blame (e.g., descriptions of the gay student as conforming to gay stereotypes), may have enabled detection of these effects. In addition, there was no main effect of either the offensiveness or normative justification manipulations. Therefore, it is plausible that the distinctions between the four contexts of anti-gay bullying were too subtle to detect effects, and therefore context may actually have a stronger effect than I found.

Another possibility is that the dependent variables may not be subtle enough to capture important differences in reactions to anti-gay bullying. Participants were asked to rate the bullying incident, bully, and victim using semantic differentials such as “good vs. bad”, which allowed for a clear and easily interpretable attitude measures. However, this approach may be particularly susceptible to socially desirable responding. For example, participants were probably aware that rating a bully who showed unprovoked aggression toward a minority member as “bad” was the most socially desirable response.

Finally, although I manipulated context factors, I relied on participants' self-reported subjective ambivalence. It is possible that other factors that are associated with subjective ambivalence (such as intergroup negativity and skepticism) are responsible for the effects of subjective ambivalence rather than torn, mixed feelings causing the effects of subjective ambivalence. Consistent with the results, it is possible that socially unacceptable attitudes (such as anti-gay bias) may result in feelings of ambivalence, which would mean that the negative effects of subjective ambivalence only reflect negative attitudes, not internal conflict. When a person has little knowledge of an attitude target or weak attitudes toward the target, subjective ambivalence can result from the skeptical assumption that there must be conflicting information that a person is not yet aware of (Priester, Petty, & Park, 2007). In other words, people can perceive (in a meta-perspective sense) that their attitudes toward the target would be ambivalent if they had access to more information. Thus, skepticism toward an unfamiliar target may predict subjective ambivalence, and that skepticism may also be responsible for the negativity associated with ambivalence. Therefore, causal effects of subjective ambivalence should be interpreted with caution, particularly given the strong overlap between subjective ambivalence and negativity in both studies. Manipulating ambivalence experimentally (i.e., inducing differential levels of ambivalence; see Schneider et al., 2013) could clarify the underlying processes related to subjective ambivalence and would be the most clearly interpretable test of the distinction between subjective ambivalence and negativity.

Future directions

There are many avenues that could be further explored to better understand subjective ambivalence. In this study, I examined subjective ambivalence toward gay

people in the contexts of gay rights support and opposition to anti-gay bullying.

Researchers should explore subjective ambivalence in other contexts of anti-gay bias, including contexts in which there may be more subtle bias such as gay marriage, adoption rights for gay couples, and granting refugee status to LGBT people. These contexts may present an “out” for expressing bias without appearing to be overtly prejudiced, and better capture the contextually sensitive component of subjective ambivalence. If subjective ambivalence is a more modern, subtle form of bias, I would expect it to be particularly relevant to ambiguous contexts.

Researchers can further explore the link between ambivalence toward multiple groups, in particular, by examining factors which underlie general ambivalence.

Analyzing the effect of subjective ambivalence toward women and Blacks may expand these fields. In particular, the possible role of “subjective ambivalent sexism” would likely be important to explore given that benevolent and hostile sexism are positively correlated and complimentary (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Researchers can further examine the unique effects of subjective ambivalence beyond univalent negative attitudes. Past response amplification research has found contextual effects of ambivalence, but controlling for negativity may give researchers more power to uncover and examine the contextual component of subjective ambivalence. In addition it would also be helpful to manipulate subjective ambivalence and negativity independently of each other (e.g., experimentally inducing an ambivalent attitude for one group and experimentally inducing a negative attitude for a comparison group). This would be a more rigorous test of the distinction between ambivalence and negativity because it would not rely on the use of statistical controls and would avoid the

possibility that conceptually necessary components of ambivalence or negativity would be removed in the analyses.

Future researchers can also further examine justification and suppression factors relevant to subjective ambivalence. These findings suggest there is a reliable negative relation between subjective ambivalence and intergroup empathy, which is consistent with the JSM's implication that lower intergroup empathy would enable more expression of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). My interpretation is that lower intergroup empathy facilitates negative reactions by emotionally distancing oneself from gay people. However, there are likely other factors that either inhibit or facilitate the expression of subjective ambivalence as bias. One possibility is that subjective ambivalence may be associated with "love the sinner, hate the sin" beliefs, which appear to represent "torn" feelings due to a desire to demonstrate positive attitudes toward the person (i.e., the sinner), but negative attitudes toward "sinful" behaviour. In much the same way that subjective ambivalence does not appear overtly prejudiced, "love the sinner, hate the sin" framing is used to express disapproval of homosexuality without appearing homophobic (Fetner, 2005). It is possible that contexts that prime such beliefs would strengthen the relation between higher subjective ambivalence and anti-gay bias in contexts in which same-sex *behaviour* is highly salient (e.g., disparities in gay *vs.* straight age of consent laws, reactions to same-sex public displays of affection) because "love the sinner, hate the sin" would legitimize biased expressions.

Conclusion

Contrary to conceptions of ambivalence as a mix of positive and negative attitudes, these findings suggest that subjective ambivalence is solely associated with

negativity. I found strong evidence that subjective ambivalence toward gay people is associated with negativity in ways consistent with modern forms of bias expression such as aversive racism. Subjective ambivalence, though not overtly negative, is consistently associated with more negative attitudes toward gay people. There is also limited evidence that subjective ambivalence is associated with higher contextual sensitivity, though these findings suggest that the effects of subjective ambivalence are largely negative regardless of context. As a whole, these findings support the Justifications-Suppression Model's conception of ambivalence as a predictor of bias which is mediated by intrapsychic processes. These findings also provide partial support the JSM's assertion that the relation between ambivalence and bias expression is dependent on social context. Subjective ambivalence appears to be an important and unique aspect of intergroup bias. Given our society's shift against blatant expressions of anti-gay prejudice and toward overtly tolerant attitudes (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004), subjective ambivalence may be particularly useful for understanding modern, subtle, and more socially acceptable expressions of bias.

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Appendix A

	totally disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Totally agree
Female homosexuality is a sin.	1	2	3	4	5
Homosexuality is just as moral a way of life as heterosexuality.	1	2	3	4	5
Homosexual behaviour between two men is just plain wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man, two women or two men.	1	2	3	4	5
Male homosexuality is a perversion.	1	2	3	4	5
The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.	1	2	3	4	5
Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.	1	2	3	4	5
If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.	1	2	3	4	5
It is important for gay and lesbian people to be true to their feelings and desires.	1	2	3	4	5
The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me.	1	2	3	4	5
Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.	1	2	3	4	5
Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.	1	2	3	4	5
State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.	1	2	3	4	5
Lesbians are sick.	1	2	3	4	5
Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural division between the sexes.	1	2	3	4	5
Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.	1	2	3	4	5
Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.	1	2	3	4	5
Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school.	1	2	3	4	5
Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.	1	2	3	4	5
On average, people in our society treat gay people and straight people equally.	1	2	3	4	5
Most lesbians and gay men are no longer discriminated against.	1	2	3	4	5

Society has reached the point where gay people and straight people have equal opportunities for advancement.	1	2	3	4	5
It is rare to see gay men and lesbians treated in a homophobic manner on television.	1	2	3	4	5
Discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5
It is easy to understand the anger of lesbian and gay rights groups in America.	1	2	3	4	5
Lesbians and gay men often miss out on good jobs due to discrimination.	1	2	3	4	5
It is easy to understand why gay and lesbian rights groups are still concerned about societal limitation of homosexuals' opportunities.	1	2	3	4	5
Too many lesbians and gay men still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their sexual orientation.	1	2	3	4	5
I try to avoid contact with gay men.	1	2	3	4	5
It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man.	1	2	3	4	5
I would like to have more gay male friends.	1	2	3	4	5
Gay men aren't real men.	1	2	3	4	5
I'm uncomfortable when gay men act feminine.	1	2	3	4	5
I think male homosexuals are disgusting.	1	2	3	4	5
Gay men can't be masculine.	1	2	3	4	5
I wish gay men would act more masculine.	1	2	3	4	5
Lesbians aren't real women.	1	2	3	4	5
I wish lesbians would act more feminine.	1	2	3	4	5
I try to avoid contact with lesbians.	1	2	3	4	5
It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a lesbian.	1	2	3	4	5
I would like to have more lesbian friends.	1	2	3	4	5
I'm uncomfortable when lesbians act masculine.	1	2	3	4	5
I think female homosexuals are disgusting.	1	2	3	4	5

Lesbians can't be feminine.	1	2	3	4	5
If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.	1	2	3	4	5
If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would encourage him to explore that aspect of himself.	1	2	3	4	5
I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing.	1	2	3	4	5
The accomplishments of the gay and lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired.	1	2	3	4	5
Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by lesbian and gay people.	1	2	3	4	5
Gay men and lesbians should be admired for living their lives in the face of adversity.	1	2	3	4	5
The advances made by the gay and lesbian civil rights movement have improved society overall.	1	2	3	4	5
I admire the strength shown by lesbians.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel restricted by the expectations people have of me because of my gender.	1	2	3	4	5
I worry about the privileges I get from society because of my sexual orientation.	1	2	3	4	5
It seems to me that the labels "man" and "woman" aren't really very useful ways to describe the differences between people.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that most people are basically bisexual.	1	2	3	4	5
Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men.	1	2	3	4	5
Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women.	1	2	3	4	5
Being gay can make a man more compassionate.	1	2	3	4	5

Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about fashion.	1	2	3	4	5
Gay men are more creative than are heterosexual men.	1	2	3	4	5
Being lesbian can make a woman more self-reliant.	1	2	3	4	5
Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent.	1	2	3	4	5
The plight of lesbians and gay men will only improve when they are in important positions within the system.	1	2	3	4	5
Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women.	1	2	3	4	5
I find lesbians more emotionally available than other women.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Gays and lesbians should be protected by hate-crime legislation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gays and lesbians should not be allowed to adopt children.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gays and lesbians should be allowed to marry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Homosexuality should be illegal in this country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Immigrant partners of gays and lesbians should receive the same immigration rights as partner of heterosexuals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gays and lesbians should be able to display affection with their partners in public.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gays and lesbians should not be allowed to flaunt their homosexuality in public by having things like parades, marches, or rallies.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The government should be allowed to censor magazines, newspapers, or other printed material that deals with homosexuality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gays and lesbians should not be allowed to teach school-aged children.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Public libraries should not carry books that deal with homosexuality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Public tax dollars should not go to organizations that promote tolerance for gays and lesbians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A landlord should not be allowed to refuse to rent a house or an apartment to somebody who is gay or lesbian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The gay rights movement is just as important as other civil rights movements of the past, such as those led by African Americans and women.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If the military discovers a member is gay or lesbian, it should not be allowed to discharge that person from service.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The "gay rights movement" signifies a decline in morality in this country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If we give gays and lesbians the same rights as heterosexuals, then we will have to give them to other "alternative lifestyles" like incest, bestiality, and polygamy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The government has no right interfering with the private consensual sex-lives of gays and lesbians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The age of consent for homosexual sex should be higher than the age of consent for heterosexual sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Defending the civil rights of gays and lesbians also helps to defend the civil rights of everyone else.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE - RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationship in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate number on the following scale:

0 = disagree strongly
1 = disagree somewhat
2 = disagree slightly
3 = agree slightly
4 = agree somewhat
5 = agree strongly

	0	1	2	3	4	5
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality".	0	1	2	3	4	5
In a disaster, women ought not to be necessarily rescued before men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Women are too easily offended.	0	1	2	3	4	5
People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Women should be cherished and protected by men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Every man ought to have a woman he adores.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Men are complete without women.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Once a woman gets a man to	0	1	2	3	4	5

commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.						
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	0	1	2	3	4	5
A good woman should be set on a pedestal by a man.	0	1	2	3	4	5
There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Women, compared to men, tend to have superior moral sensibility.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands on men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	0	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D

Below is a series of statements. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the appropriate number on the following scale:

0 = disagree strongly
1 = disagree somewhat
2 = disagree slightly
3 = agree slightly
4 = agree somewhat
5 = agree strongly

Black people do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do.	0	1	2	3	4	5
It's surprising that Black people do as well as they do, considering all the obstacles they face.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Too many Blacks still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their skin color.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Most big corporations in America are really interested in treating their Black and White employees equally.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Blacks have more to offer than they have been allowed to show.	0	1	2	3	4	5
The typical urban ghetto public school is not as good as it should be to provide equal opportunities for Blacks.	0	1	2	3	4	5
This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in Black culture.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Sometimes Black job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Many Whites show a real lack of understanding of the problems that Blacks face.	0	1	2	3	4	5
The root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Although there are exceptions, Black urban neighborhoods don't seem to have strong community organization or leadership.	0	1	2	3	4	5
On the whole, Black people don't stress education and training.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Many Black teenagers don't respect themselves or anyone else.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Blacks don't seem to use opportunities to own and operate little shops and businesses.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Very few Black people are just looking for a free ride.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Black children would do better in school if their parents had better attitudes about learning.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Blacks should take the jobs that are available and then work their way up to better jobs.	0	1	2	3	4	5
One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self-respect.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Most Blacks have the drive and determination to get ahead.	0	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E

Please circle your response, using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. There are many radical, immoral people in our country today who are trying to ruin it for their godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9. There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
10. What our country *really* needs, instead of more “civil rights” is a good, stiff dose of law and order.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
11. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the “normal way” things are supposed to be done.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
12. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show that we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and trouble-makers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix F

Please indicate your attitude toward the listed groups by placing an “X” in the appropriate box. The rating scale resembles values on a **thermometer**. If you have a favourable attitude toward the group in question, you would give the group a score somewhere between 50° and 100°; if you have an unfavourable attitude toward the group, you would give the group a score somewhere between 0° and 50°.

	extremely unfavourable									extremely favourable
	0-10°	11- 20°	21- 30°	31- 40°	41- 50°	51- 60°	61- 70°	71- 80°	81- 90°	91- 100°
English Canadians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
French Canadians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Immigrants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Homosexuals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Foreigners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Natives/1 st Nations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Drug addicts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muslims	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
AIDS patients	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Obese people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Blacks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The mentally ill	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Americans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ethnic minorities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The elderly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the closet gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Flamboyant gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Feminine gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cross-dressing gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Gay male activists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hyper-masculine gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Physically fit gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Artistic gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leather/biker gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Straight acting gay men	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Feminine lesbians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Butch Lesbians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Outed lesbians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Closeted lesbians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix G

Below are a series of statements with which you may either agree or disagree. For each statement, please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement by writing in a number from 1 to 7 on the line next to it. Please remember that there are no right or wrong answers, and that your first responses are usually the most accurate.

Do not agree at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly agree
1. Some groups of people are just more worthy than others.								_____
2. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.								_____
3. In getting what your group wants, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.								_____
4. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.								_____
5. We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally.								_____
6. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.								_____
7. No one group should dominate in society.								_____
8. Group equality should be our ideal.								_____
9. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.								_____
10. We must increase social equality.								_____
11. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.								_____
12. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.								_____
13. We must strive to make incomes more equal.								_____
14. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.								_____
15. It would be good if all groups could be equal.								_____
16. Inferior groups should stay in their place.								_____

Appendix H

This survey is part of an investigation of general public opinion concerning a variety of social issues. You will probably find that you *agree* with some statements, and *disagree* with others, to varying extents. Please indicate the reaction to each statement according to the following scale:

- 4 if you very strongly disagree with the statement.
- 3 if you strongly disagree with the statement.
- 2 if you moderately disagree with the statement.
- 1 if you slightly disagree with the statement.
- +1 if you slightly agree with the statement.
- +2 if you moderately agree with the statement.
- +3 if you strongly agree with the statement.
- +4 if you very strongly agree with the statement.

-
- (-4 to +4)
1. God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed. _____
 2. No single book of religious teachings contains all intrinsic, fundamental Truths about life. _____
 3. The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously fighting against God. _____
 4. It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion. _____
 5. There is a particular set of religious teachings in this world that are so true, You can't go any "deeper" because they are the basic, bedrock message that God has given humanity. _____
 6. When you get right down to it, there are basically only two kinds of people in the world: the Righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest, will not. _____
 7. Scriptures may contain general truths, but they should NOT be considered completely, literally true from beginning to end. _____
 8. To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, fundamentally true religion. _____
 9. "Satan" is just the name people give to their own bad impulses. There really Is *no such thing* as a diabolical "Prince of Darkness" who tempts us. _____
 10. Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, *science* is probably right. _____
 11. The fundamentals of God's religion should never be tampered with, or compromised with others' beliefs. _____
 12. *All* of the religions in the world have flaws and wrong teachings. There is *no* perfectly true, right religion. _____

Appendix I

Please indicate whether or not you are in favour of or opposed to each of the following:

Place a tick mark in the appropriate square to indicate your response.

	In favour of	Opposed to	Unsure
1. Censorship			
2. Immigration of non-Western Foreigners			
3. Divorce			
4. Evolution Theory			
5. Death Penalty			
6. Working Mothers			
7. Following Religious Doctrine			
8. Birth Control			
9. Co-education			
10. Socialism			

Appendix J

Please indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements, or how true it is about you. Please write a number (1, 2, 3 or 4) to indicate your answer:

1 = Strongly disagree (very untrue about me)

2 = Mildly disagree (somewhat untrue about me)

3 = Mildly agree (somewhat true about me)

4 = Strongly agree (very true about me)

- _____ 1. I might be willing to try eating monkey meat, under some circumstances
 - _____ 2. It would bother me to see a rat run across my path in a park
 - _____ 3. Seeing a cockroach in someone else's house does not bother me
 - _____ 4. It bothers me to hear someone clear a throat full of mucus
 - _____ 5. If I see someone vomit, it makes me sick to my stomach
 - _____ 6. It would bother me to be in a science class, and see a human hand preserved in a jar
 - _____ 7. It would not upset me at all to watch a person with a glass eye take the eye out of the socket
 - _____ 8. It would bother me tremendously to touch a dead body
 - _____ 9. I would go out of my way to avoid walking through a graveyard
 - _____ 10. I never let any part of my body touch the toilet seat in a public washroom
 - _____ 11. I probably would not go to my favorite restaurant if I found out that the cook had a cold
 - _____ 12. Even if I was hungry, I would not drink a bowl of my favorite soup if it had been stirred with a used but thoroughly washed flyswatter
 - _____ 13. It would bother me to sleep in a nice hotel room if I knew that a man had died of a heart attack in that room the night before
- How disgusting would you find each of the following experiences? Please write a number (1, 2, 3, or 4) to indicate your answer: 1 = Not disgusting at all, 2 = Slightly disgusting, 3 = Moderately disgusting, 4 = Very disgusting. If you think something is bad or unpleasant, but not disgusting, you should write "1".**

- _____ 14. If you see someone put ketchup on vanilla ice cream and eat it
- _____ 15. You are about to drink a glass of milk when you smell that it is spoiled
- _____ 16. You see maggots on a piece of meat in an outdoor garbage pail
- _____ 17. You are walking barefoot on concrete and step on an earthworm
- _____ 18. While you are walking through a tunnel under a railroad track, you smell urine
- _____ 19. You see a man with his intestines exposed after an accident
- _____ 20. Your friend's pet cat dies and you have to pick up the dead body with your bare hands
- _____ 21. You accidentally touch the ashes of a person who has been cremated
- _____ 22. You take a sip of soda and realize that you drank from the glass that an acquaintance of yours had been drinking from

- _____23. You discover that a friend of yours changes underwear only once a week
- _____24. A friend offers you a piece of chocolate shaped like dog-doo
- _____25. As part of a sex education class, you are required to inflate a new lubricated condom, using your mouth

Appendix K

1. Please indicate on the scale below how liberal or conservative (in terms of your general outlook) you are *in general*:

1	2	3	4	5	6
7					
Very Liberal					Very
Conservative					

2. How liberal or conservative do you tend to be when it comes to *social policy*

1	2	3	4	5	6
7					
Very					
Liberal					Very Conserv
ative					

3. How liberal or conservative do you tend to be when it comes to *economic policy*?

1	2	3	4	5	6
7					
Very Liberal					Very
Conservative					

Appendix L

Please circle your response, using the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. I would ask for hotel bed sheets to be changed if the previous occupant belonged to another social group.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. I feel disgusted when people from other ethnic groups invade my personal space.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. When socializing with members of a stigmatized group, one can easily become tainted by their stigma.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. After shaking hands with someone from another ethnic group, even if their hands were clean, I would want to wash my hands.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. After interacting with another ethnic group, I typically desire more contact with my own ethnic group to “undo” any ill effects from intergroup contact.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. I would not feel disgusted if I ate food prepared by another ethnic group with their hands.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. It would be repulsive to swim in a chlorinated swimming pool if most of the people in the pool belonged to another ethnic group.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. It would not bother me to have an intimate sexual relationship with someone from another racial group.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix M

1. How conflicted do you feel in your attitudes toward gay men?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Completely

2. How conflicted do you feel in your attitudes toward lesbians?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Completely

3. To what degree do you have mixed feelings toward gay men?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Completely

4. To what extent do you have mixed feelings toward lesbians?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Completely

Appendix N

Please answer the following questions. All answers will remain confidential.

1. Age: _____

2. Gender:

Female

Male

Other

3. Ethnic Background:

☐ White/Caucasian/European

☐ Black/African-American

☐ Asian

☐ Aboriginal Peoples of Canada

☐ Middle Eastern

☐ Hispanic/Latino/South American

☐ Other (please specify): _____

4. Year in University: _____

5. Major: _____

6. Sexual Orientation:

☐ Heterosexual

☐ Asexual

☐ Homosexual

☐ Don't know

☐ Bisexual

Appendix O

List of words, pictures, and symbols used in the sexuality IAT by category:

Good:

Joyful, Beautiful, Marvelous, Wonderful, Pleasure, Glorious, Lovely, Superb

Bad:

Agony, Terrible, Horrible, Humiliate, Nasty, Painful, Awful, Tragic

Gay People:

“homosexual”, “gay”, Two Man washroom symbols beside each other, Two grooms on a wedding cake

Appendix P

The following are the four different versions of the news article on gay bullying that the participants will read. Text which is altered between versions is in **bold**.

Inoffensive, Normatively Justified

An apparent case of anti-gay bullying came to light after footage of the incident was discovered on the social networking site Facebook. A teen accused by an attacker of being gay was pushed by another student, threatened, and called gay epithets by several students at a school in Spruce Grove, British Columbia, Canada, prosecutors and police said.

The incident — involving a victim age 15 and at least four attackers — was recorded on cellphone videos and photos and posted on Facebook. One of the boys, age 17, may be facing criminal charges, including hate crime charges, according to the Spruce Grove Police Department.

The teen was approached at his locker and was called “gay boy”, “queer”, and “sissie”. Other students observing the incident were also heard making derogatory remarks. Various people recorded it with cellphones, the documents say, with laughter and threats heard in the background.

A woman whose son had seen some of the pictures online called Spruce Grove police Oct. 28. Police determined that the pictures were taken in a locker room at Spruce Grove High School, according to an affidavit filed by Janet Stewart, an investigator for the BC Attorney's Office.

Spruce Grove Detective Drew Rich and Stewart tracked down the victim. He broke down while recounting the ordeal, **and said he was “really embarrassed.”**

Richard Lozano, **the defense lawyer for the 17-year-old, said he doesn't believe the charges have merit.** "There may have been 'boys-will-be-boys' type of activity happening, but would certainly be nothing that would be considered criminal activity," the lawyer insisted. **He said the students were "charged excessively" and "definitely" will protest at trial.**

The parents of the victim are considering pressing charges against the school for being negligent in preventing bullying, and others have questioned whether the school has done enough to protect its students. Paul Worthington, Superintendent at Spruce Grove High School, said in response, **“It is regrettable that this occurred. But I don't think the incident should necessarily be given any special attention just because of the sexual orientation of the students involved. It should also be pointed out that it is not clear at this time that the incident had anything to do with sexual orientation.”**

A student who witnessed the incident said, **“I don't see why they got the police involved and made such a big deal about this.”**

Inoffensive, Normatively Unjustified

An apparent case of anti-gay bullying came to light after footage of the incident was discovered on the social networking site Facebook. A teen accused by an attacker of being gay was pushed by another student, threatened, and called gay epithets by several students at a school in Spruce Grove, British Columbia, Canada, prosecutors and police said.

The incident — involving a victim age 15 and at least four attackers — was recorded on cellphone videos and photos and posted on Facebook. One of the boys, age 17, may be facing criminal charges, including hate crime charges, according to the Spruce Grove Police Department.

The teen was approached at his locker and was called “gay boy”, “queer”, and “sissie”. Other students observing the incident were also heard making derogatory remarks. Various people recorded it with cellphones, the documents say, with laughter and threats heard in the background.

A woman whose son had seen some of the pictures online called Spruce Grove police Oct. 28. Police determined that the pictures were taken in a locker room at Spruce Grove High School, according to an affidavit filed by Janet Stewart, an investigator for the BC Attorney's Office.

Spruce Grove Detective Drew Rich and Stewart tracked down the victim. He broke down while recounting the ordeal, **and said he was “really embarrassed.”**

Richard Lozano, prosecuting attorney for one of the alleged victims, said he believes criminal charges have merit. “This is NOT just a case of ‘boys being boys’. This is a case of discrimination, and it is completely unacceptable that this occurred in our school system, where students are supposed to be the most protected” the lawyer insisted. He said the students were “cruel” and that we will “definitely” be filing charges.

The parents of the victim are considering pressing charges against the school for being negligent in preventing bullying, and others have questioned whether the school has done enough to protect its students. Paul Worthington, Superintendent at Spruce Grove High School, said in response, **“It is completely unacceptable that this occurred. I think the incident is especially disturbing and traumatic for the victims, that the behavior was motivated by the sexual orientation of the students involved. We can and should do more to prevent this from occurring in the future.”**

A student who witnessed the incident said, **“I’m glad they didn’t get away with this. It’s hard to believe something like this could happen at our school.”**

Offensive, Normatively Justified

An apparent case of anti-gay bullying came to light after footage of the incident was discovered on the social networking site Facebook. A teen accused by an attacker of being gay was pushed by another student, threatened, and called gay epithets by several students at a school in Spruce Grove, British Columbia, Canada, prosecutors and police said.

The incident — involving a victim age 15 and at least four attackers — was recorded on cellphone videos and photos and posted on Facebook. One of the boys, age 17, may be facing criminal charges, including hate crime charges, according to the Spruce Grove Police Department.

The teen was approached at his locker and was called “filthy faggot”, “fucking faggot”, and “fudge-packer”. Other students observing the incident were also heard making derogatory remarks. Various people recorded it with cellphones, the documents say, with laughter and threats heard in the background.

A woman whose son had seen some of the pictures online called Spruce Grove police Oct. 28. Police determined that the pictures were taken in a locker room at Spruce Grove High School, according to an affidavit filed by Janet Stewart, an investigator for the BC Attorney's Office.

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Richard Lozano, **the defense lawyer for the 17-year-old, said he doesn't believe the charges have merit.** "There may have been 'boys-will-be-boys' type of activity happening, but would certainly be nothing that would be considered criminal activity," the lawyer insisted. He said the students were "charged excessively" and "definitely" will protest at trial.

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A student who witnessed the incident said, **“I don't see why they got the police involved and made such a big deal about this.”**

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The incident — involving a victim age 15 and at least four attackers — was recorded on cellphone videos and photos and posted on Facebook. One of the boys, age 17, may be facing criminal charges, including hate crime charges, according to the Spruce Grove Police Department.

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The parents of the victim are considering pressing charges against the school for being negligent in preventing bullying, and others have questioned whether the school has done enough to protect its students. Paul Worthington, Superintendent at Spruce Grove High School, said in response, **“It is completely unacceptable that this occurred. I think the incident is especially disturbing and traumatic for the victims, that the behavior was motivated by the sexual orientation of the students involved. We can and should do more to prevent this from occurring in the future.”**

A student who witnessed the incident said, **“I’m glad they didn’t get away with this. It’s hard to believe something like this could happen at our school.”**

Appendix Q

PART 1: What is your opinion of the article in general?

Strong					Weak	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Well-written					Poorly written	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Biased					Unbiased	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Illogical					Logical	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PART 2: What is your attitude toward the student who claimed he was bullied?

Love					Hate	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Happy					Annoyed	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relaxed					Angry	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Acceptance					Disgusted	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Positive					Negative	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Like					Dislike	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Good					Bad	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Desirable					Undesirable	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Harmful					Unharmful	

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

PART 3: What is your attitude toward the **student who was accused of committing the bullying?**

Love

Hate

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Happy

Annoyed

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Relaxed

Angry

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Acceptance

Disgusted

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Positive

Negative

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Like

Dislike

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Good

Bad

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Desirable

Undesirable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

PART 4: What is your attitude toward **the incident** that occurred between the two students?

Love

Hate

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Happy

Annoyed

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Relaxed

Angry

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Acceptance

Disgusted

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Positive					Negative	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Like					Dislike	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Good					Bad	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Desirable					Undesirable	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Harmful					Unharmful	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Acceptable					Unacceptable	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix R

Please give your answer by circling the number most appropriate on the seven point scale (1 = *not at all*, to 7 = *very much*).

1. Please indicate the extent to which you feel sympathetic towards gays and lesbians.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very

2. Please indicate the extent to which you feel compassionate towards gays and lesbians.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very

3. Please indicate the extent to which you feel softhearted towards gays and lesbians.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very

4. Please indicate the extent to which you feel warm towards gays and lesbians.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very

5. Please indicate the extent to which you feel tender towards gays and lesbians.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very

6. Please indicate the extent to which you feel moved by gays and lesbians.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very

Appendix S

1. Heterosexuals should feel guilty for their behavior toward homosexuals.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

2. I feel guilty for the privileges I have because I'm heterosexual.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

3. I feel guilty about the negative things heterosexuals have done to homosexuals.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

4. I feel regret for some of the things that my group has done to homosexuals in the past.

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

Appendix T

Please indicate your sexual orientation. Please tick your answer.

- ☐ Heterosexual
- ☐ Homosexual
- ☐ Bisexual
- ☐ Asexual
- ☐ Other (Please specify)
- ☐ Do not wish to answer

Think about the sexual orientation that you just placed an "X" beside.

A) To what extent is the membership of this group an important part of your identity?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much so

B) To what extent do you feel that you have a lot in common with members of this group?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much so

C) To what extent do you have a strong sense of attachment to this group?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much so

Appendix U

1. Sometimes people need to relax and realize that “bullying” is just boys being boys.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

2. Society needs to lighten up about bullying and teasing generally.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

3. People get too upset about bullying.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

4. It is acceptable to pick on people when they're different to you or your group.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

5. What gets called “bullying” is often just a good time gone too far.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

6. People shouldn't push around others who are weaker than themselves.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

Appendix V

Toughness Norm Scale

1. When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

2. Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears, and problems.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

3. A good motto for a man would be "When the going gets tough, the tough get going".

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

Anti-femininity Norm Scale

1. It bothers me when a man does something that I consider "feminine".

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

2. It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly						Strongly
Disagree						Agree

3. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie.

1
Strongly
Disagree

2

3

4

5

6

7

Strongly
Agree

Appendix W

1. How conservative do you tend to be in general?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely

2. How conservative do you tend to be when it comes to economic policy?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely

3. How conservative do you tend to be when it comes to social policy?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely

4. How liberal do you tend to be in general?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely

5. How liberal do you tend to be when it comes to economic policy?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely

6. How liberal do you tend to be when it comes to social policy?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Extremely

Appendix X

1. How conflicted do you feel in your attitudes toward political issues in general?

1 2 3 4 5

Not at all Completely

2. How conflicted do you feel in your attitudes toward economic policy?

1 2 3 4 5

Not at all Completely

3. How conflicted do you feel in your attitudes toward social policy?

1 2 3 4 5

Not at all Completely

4. On political issues, I feel very ambivalent (torn in several directions).

1 2 3 4 5

Not at all Completely

Appendix Y

Please answer the following questions. All answers will remain confidential.

1. Age: _____

2. Gender:

Female Male Other

3. Ethnic Background:

- ☐ White/Caucasian/European
- ☐ Black/African-American
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Aboriginal Peoples of Canada
- ☐ Middle Eastern
- ☐ Hispanic/Latino/South American
- ☐ Other (please specify): _____

4. Year in University: _____

5. Major: _____

6. Sexual Orientation:

- ☐ Heterosexual
- ☐ Homosexual
- ☐ Bisexual
- ☐ Asexual
- ☐ Don't know

7. How often have you been bullied?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once or twice
- ☐ A few times
- ☐ Many times

8. How often have you bullied other people?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once or twice
- ☐ A few times
- ☐ Many times

9. How often have you been bullied for being or appearing to be gay or lesbian?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once or twice
- ☐ A few times
- ☐ Many times

10. How often have you bullied another person for being or appearing to be gay or lesbian?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Once or twice
- ☐ A few times
- ☐ Many times

Appendix Z: Ethics Clearance forms



Brock University
Research Ethics Office
Tel: 905-688-5550 ext. 3035
Email: reb@brocku.ca

Social Science Research Ethics Board

Certificate of Ethics Clearance for Human Participant Research

DATE: 12/13/2011
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: HODSON, Gordon - Psychology
FILE: 11-111 - HODSON
TYPE: Masters Thesis/Project STUDENT: Mark Hoffarth
SUPERVISOR: Gordon Hodson
TITLE: Attitudes and Opinions about Sexuality

ETHICS CLEARANCE GRANTED

Type of Clearance: NEW

Expiry Date: 12/31/2012

The Brock University Social Sciences Research Ethics Board has reviewed the above named research proposal and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement. Clearance granted from 12/13/2011 to 12/31/2012.

The Tri-Council Policy Statement requires that ongoing research be monitored by, at a minimum, an annual report. Should your project extend beyond the expiry date, you are required to submit a Renewal form before 12/31/2012. Continued clearance is contingent on timely submission of reports.

To comply with the Tri-Council Policy Statement, you must also submit a final report upon completion of your project. All report forms can be found on the Research Ethics web page at <http://www.brocku.ca/research/policies-and-forms/research-forms>.

In addition, throughout your research, you must report promptly to the REB:

- a) Changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
- b) All adverse and/or unanticipated experiences or events that may have real or potential unfavourable implications for participants;
- c) New information that may adversely affect the safety of the participants or the conduct of the study;
- d) Any changes in your source of funding or new funding to a previously unfunded project.

We wish you success with your research.

Approved:

Jan Frijters, Chair
Social Sciences Research Ethics Board

Note: Brock University is accountable for the research carried out in its own jurisdiction or under its auspices and may refuse certain research even though the REB has found it ethically acceptable.

If research participants are in the care of a health facility, at a school, or other institution or community organization, it is the responsibility of the Principal Investigator to ensure that the ethical guidelines and clearance of those facilities or institutions are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of research at that site.



Brock University
Research Ethics Office
Tel: 905-688-5550 ext. 3035
Email: reb@brocku.ca

Social Science Research Ethics Board

Certificate of Ethics Clearance for Human Participant Research

DATE: 9/21/2012
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: HODSON, Gordon
Psychology
FILE: 12-052 - HODSON
TYPE: Masters Thesis/Project STUDENT: Mark Hoffarth
SUPERVISOR: Gordon Hodson
TITLE: How Do People Evaluate Online News Stories?

ETHICS CLEARANCE GRANTED

Type of Clearance: NEW Expiry Date: 9/30/2013

The Brock University Social Sciences Research Ethics Board has reviewed the above named research proposal and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement. Clearance granted from 9/21/2012 to 9/30/2013.

The Tri-Council Policy Statement requires that ongoing research be monitored by, at a minimum, an annual report. Should your project extend beyond the expiry date, you are required to submit a Renewal form before 9/30/2013. Continued clearance is contingent on timely submission of reports.

To comply with the Tri-Council Policy Statement, you must also submit a final report upon completion of your project. All report forms can be found on the Research Ethics web page at <http://www.brocku.ca/research/policies-and-forms/research-forms>.

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Approved:

Jan Frijters, Chair
Social Sciences Research Ethics Board

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If research participants are in the care of a health facility, at a school, or other institution or community organization, it is the responsibility of the Principal Investigator to ensure that the ethical guidelines and clearance of those facilities or institutions are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of research at that site.

Appendix AA: Supplementary Moderated Mediation Analyses

To further examine the relation between subjective ambivalence and anti-gay bullying opposition, moderated mediation analyses were also performed for subjective ambivalence predicting bullying incident opposition (DV1), bully opposition (DV2), and victim support (DV3) without statistically controlling for positivity and negativity. In addition, moderated mediation analyses were performed including positivity and negativity as covariates for bully opposition (DV2) and victim support (DV3).

A moderated mediation approach was used to determine if the relations between subjective ambivalence and intergroup empathy or collective guilt was moderated by contextual factors without accounting for negativity and positivity as covariates. (see Supplementary Table 1). When testing for mediated moderation, it must first be determined (Step 1) that there is a main effect of the focal independent variable (here, subjective ambivalence) on the dependent variable. Then, it must be determined that there is an effect of the independent variable on the mediators, and effects of each of the mediators on the dependent variable (Step 2a/2b). It must then be demonstrated that, after accounting for the mediators, the independent variable no longer significantly predicts the dependent variable but that the mediators continue to predict (i.e., there is mediation) (Step 3) (Baron & Kenny, 1986). It is then tested whether a moderating variable qualified the effect of the independent variable on the mediator (i.e., there is moderation). Because my interest is in determining the moderating effects of context on the path from subjective ambivalence to intergroup empathy and collective guilt, I only test moderation of these paths (not between mediators and outcome measures).

Supplementary Table 1:

Moderated mediation model predicting bully incident opposition (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV1) Bully Incident Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV1) Bully Incident Opposition
Subjective Ambivalence	-.22**	-.46***	-.11	-.04
Offensiveness	-.04	-.03	.01	-.03
Normativity	-.06	-.03	.15	-.09
Offensiveness X Normativity	-.08	-.23*	-.01	-.01
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	.11	-.02	.04	.11
Ambivalence X Normativity	.03	-.06	-.10	.07
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.24 [†]	-.22 [†]	-.15	-.14
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	-.32***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	-.26***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p < .07$ MV = mediator variable, DV = dependent variable

Contrary to predictions, there were no significant moderating effects. The relation between subjective ambivalence and intergroup empathy was not impacted by normative justifications or offensiveness, nor was the relation dependent on the interaction between normative justifications and offensiveness. Likewise, the relation between subjective ambivalence and collective guilt was not dependent upon contextual factors. There was, however, a marginally significant three-way interaction between subjective ambivalence, normative justifications, and offensiveness on intergroup empathy ($\beta = -.22$, $p = .066$).

Bully opposition (DV2) as outcome.

An identical moderated mediation model was then utilized with bully opposition as the dependent variable. Results were largely consistent with those found for bullying incident opposition. Higher subjective ambivalence was associated with less bully opposition ($\beta = -.20, p = .04$) in Step 1 (see Supplementary Table 2). The path from subjective ambivalence to bully opposition was no longer significant after accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt in Step 3 ($\beta = .03, p = .66$). I then tested for indirect effects through intergroup empathy and collective guilt using PROCESS software. There was a significant indirect effect of subjective ambivalence on bully opposition through intergroup empathy ($b = -.06, LL = -.1117, UL = -.0097$), such that higher subjective ambivalence predicted less bully opposition through lower intergroup empathy. In contrast, there was no significant indirect effect of subjective ambivalence on bully opposition through collective guilt ($b = .00, LL = -.0165, UL = .0293$).

Supplementary Table 2:

Mediation model predicting bully opposition (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV2) Bully Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV2) Bully Opposition
Subjective ambivalence	-.20*	-.48***	-.14 [†]	.03
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.37***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.25**

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p = .053$ MV = Mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

I found no significant interactions predicting bully opposition in Step 1 (see Supplementary Table 3), indicating the relation between subjective ambivalence and

Supplementary Table 3:
Moderated mediation model predicting bully opposition (standardized coefficients)
(Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV2) Bully Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV2) Bully Opposition
Subjective ambivalence	-.18*	-.46***	-.11	.01
Offensiveness	-.01	-.03	.01	-.01
Normativity	-.04	-.03	.15	-.08
Offensiveness X Normativity	.16	-.23*	-.01	.20 [†]
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.03	-.02	.04	-.02
Ambivalence X Normativity	.08	-.06	-.10	.11
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	.01	-.22 [†]	-.15	.10
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.31***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.26***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p < .08$ MV = mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

bully opposition was not affected by context. The marginal 3-way interaction between offensiveness, normativity and subjective ambivalence on intergroup empathy was also found in this model in Step 2a¹³.

Victim support (DV3) as outcome.

An identical moderated mediation model was then utilized with victim support as the dependent variable. Again, I found support for my hypotheses (see Supplementary

¹³ The path from subjective ambivalence to intergroup empathy and collective guilt, as well as all moderated effects of these paths, were identical across all three dependent variables.

Table 4). Higher subjective ambivalence was associated with less victim support in Step 1 ($\beta = -.17, p = .03$). Higher intergroup empathy was associated with more victim support ($\beta = .32, p < .001$). However, collective guilt did not predict victim support. After accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt in Step 3, subjective ambivalence no longer predicted victim support ($\beta = -.01, p = .92$), but empathy remained a significant predictor ($\beta = .33, p < .001$). Given that there was no significant relation between subjective ambivalence and collective guilt, this non-significant finding indicates that intergroup empathy fully mediated the relation between subjective ambivalence and less victim support.

Supplementary Table 4:

Mediation model predicting victim support (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV3) Victim Support	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV3) Victim Support
Subjective Ambivalence	-.17*	-.48***	-.14 [†]	-.01
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.33***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	-.03

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p = .053$ MV = mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

The indirect effect of subjective ambivalence through intergroup empathy was then tested using PROCESS software Model 4. Indirect effects of collective guilt were not explored due to the non-significant relation between collective guilt and victim support. There was a significant indirect effect of subjective ambivalence on victim support through intergroup empathy ($b = -.10$, LL = $-.2131$, UL = $-.0183$), such that higher subjective ambivalence predicted less victim support through lower intergroup empathy. Less victim support indicates less anti-gay bullying opposition. Thus, the

indirect effect of subjective ambivalence through lower intergroup empathy was consistent across all three dependent measures of anti-gay bullying opposition. As with bully opposition, none of the 2-way or 3-way interactions predicted victim support, indicating the relation between subjective ambivalence and victim support was not affected by context (see Supplementary Table 5).

Supplementary Table 5:

Moderated mediation model predicting victim support (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV3) Victim Support	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV3) Victim Support
Subjective Ambivalence	-.15*	-.46***	-.11	-.01
Offensiveness	-.09	-.03	.01	-.09
Normativity	-.10	-.03	.15	-.10
Offensiveness X Normativity	-.01	-.23*	-.01	.04
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.00	-.02	.04	-.00
Ambivalence X Normativity	-.08	-.06	-.10	.09
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.06	-.22 [†]	-.15	-.01
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.29***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.03

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p < .08$ MV = mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

Bully opposition (DV2) as outcome with positivity and negativity covariates.

I next tested the moderated effect of subjective ambivalence after accounting for positivity and negativity (see Supplementary Table 6). Stronger negativity predicted less bully opposition ($\beta = -.57, p < .001$), whereas positivity was not related to bully opposition ($\beta = .05, p = .48$). Unlike bullying *incident* opposition, higher ambivalence continued to be significantly associated with bully opposition in Step 1. However, the direction of the effect reversed such that higher subjective ambivalence now predicted *more* bully opposition ($\beta = .19, p = .02$), the opposite direction of the effect found before

Supplementary Table: 6

Moderated mediation model predicting bully opposition controlling for positivity and negativity (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV2) Bully Opposition	Step 2a (M1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (M2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV2) Bully Opposition
Subjective Ambivalence	.19*	-.20*	.12	.20*
Positivity Factor	.05	.10	.26***	-.04
Negativity Factor	-.57***	-.38***	-.32***	-.36*
Offensiveness	-.05	-.05	.02	-.03
Normativity	-.06	-.02	.15*	-.09
Offensiveness X Normativity	.03	-.25*	-.02	.09
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.10	-.03	.03	-.08
Ambivalence X Normativity	.09	-.02	-.08	.12
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.09	-.24*	-.16	-.01
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.25***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.24***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ MV = Mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

accounting for positivity and negativity, indicating that positivity and negativity suppressed the effect of subjective ambivalence on bully opposition. This is contrary to predictions because I expected to find the same effects of subjective ambivalence after controlling for univalent attitudes. Subjective ambivalence remained a predictor of intergroup empathy ($\beta = .20$, $p = .01$), but no longer predicted collective guilt ($\beta = .12$, $p = .20$). Both higher intergroup empathy ($\beta = .25$, $p < .01$) and higher collective guilt ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$) still predicted higher bully opposition. The effect of subjective ambivalence on bully opposition remained significant after controlling for positivity and negativity

and accounting for intergroup empathy and collective guilt ($\beta = .20, p = .02$), indicating that the effect of subjective ambivalence was not fully mediated by intergroup empathy or collective guilt. This is also contrary to my predictions that the effects of subjective ambivalence would be consistent after controlling for univalent attitudes.

Victim support (DV3) as outcome.

I then tested the moderated mediation model predicting victim support after accounting for positivity and negativity (see Supplementary Table 7). Stronger negativity predicted less victim support ($\beta = -.38, p < .001$), and contrary to expectations, positivity also predicted less victim support ($\beta = -.20, p = .01$). After accounting for positivity and negativity, subjective ambivalence no longer significantly predicted victim support ($\beta = .06, p = .50$). In addition, none of the 2-way or 3-way interactions were significant, indicating there were no effects which could be mediated by intergroup empathy and collective guilt after accounting for positivity and negativity. However, the negative relation between subjective ambivalence and intergroup empathy remained after controlling for positivity and negativity ($\beta = -.20, p = .20$), and the positive relation between intergroup empathy and victim support also remained ($\beta = .24, p < .01$).

Supplementary Table 7:

Moderated mediation model predicting victim support controlling for positivity and negativity (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV3) Victim Support	Step 2a (M1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (M2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV3) Victim Support
Subjective Ambivalence	.06	-.20*	.12	.10
Positivity Factor	-.20**	.10	.26***	-.22**
Negativity Factor	-.38***	-.38***	-.32***	-.26**
Offensiveness	-.06	-.05	.02	-.05
Normativity	-.06	-.02	.15*	-.05
Offensiveness X Normativity	.00	-.25*	-.02	.06
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.01	-.03	.03	.01
Ambivalence X Normativity	.12	-.02	-.08	.13
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.08	-.24*	-.16	-.04
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.24**
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.01

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ MV = Mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

Appendix AB: Supplementary mediated moderation analyses.

To further examine the relation between subjective ambivalence and anti-gay bullying opposition, mediated moderation analyses were also performed for subjective ambivalence predicting bullying incident opposition (DV1), bully opposition (DV2), and victim support (DV3) without statistically controlling for positivity or negativity.

Mediated moderation analyses were also performed for bully opposition (DV2) and victim support (DV3) with positivity and negativity as covariates.

Bullying incident (DV1) as outcome measure.

To explore the original Proposal hypotheses, I examined the possibility of mediated moderation (see Supplementary Table 8). When utilizing a mediated moderation approach, it must first be determined that there is a significant effect of the interaction between the focal IV and a moderator on the DV of interest (i.e., that there is moderation). It must then be demonstrated that this moderation is no longer significant after account for the hypothesized mediator (i.e., the moderation effect is mediated).

None of the two-way interactions between subjective ambivalence, normative justifications, and offensiveness significantly predicted acceptance of anti-gay bullying. As with the moderated mediation, I found a marginal effect of the 3-way interaction ($p = .066$) in Step 1. The key result I was interested in with the mediated moderation approach was that there would be a significant 3-way interaction predicting bully incident opposition, and that this 3-way effect would no longer be significant after controlling for collective guilt and intergroup empathy. Due to the non-significant effect of the 3-way interaction, I did not test for the mediation of any effect. Therefore, I did not find support for Hypothesis 6 or Hypothesis 7 in this analysis.

Supplementary Table 8:

Mediated moderation model predicting bully incident opposition (standardized coefficients) (Study 2)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV1) Bully Incident Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV1) Bully Incident Opposition
Subjective Ambivalence	-.22**	-.46***	-.11	-.04
Offensiveness	-.04	-.03	.01	-.03
Normativity	-.06	-.03	.15	-.09
Offensiveness X Normativity	-.08	-.23*	-.01	-.01
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	.11	-.02	.04	.11
Ambivalence X Normativity	.03	-.06	-.10	.07
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.24 [†]	-.22 [†]	-.15	-.14
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	-.32***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	-.26***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p < .07$ MV = mediator DV = Dependent Variable

Mediated moderation –Bully Opposition (DV2) as outcome.

A mediated moderation model was tested predicting bully opposition from subjective ambivalence. Although higher subjective ambivalence predicted less bully opposition, none of the 2-way or 3-way interactions predicting bully opposition in Step 1 were significant (all $ps > .10$; see Supplementary Table 9). Therefore, the main assumption of mediated moderation (that there is a significant mediated effect on the DV) was not met. Therefore, these analyses did not support Hypothesis 6. Because there were.

Supplementary Table 9:

Mediated Moderation model predicting bully opposition (standardized coefficients)

Predictor	Step 1 (DV2) Bully Opposition	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV2) Bully Opposition
Subjective ambivalence	-.18*	-.46***	-.11	.01
Offensiveness	-.01	-.03	.01	-.01
Normativity	-.04	-.03	.15	-.08
Offensiveness X Normativity	.16	-.23*	-.01	.20 [†]
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.03	-.02	.04	-.02
Ambivalence X Normativity	.08	-.06	-.10	.11
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	.01	-.22 [†]	-.15	.10
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.31***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.26***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p < .08$ MV = mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

no significant moderated effects, I cannot test for the mediation of a moderated effect, and do not find support for Hypothesis 7

Mediated moderation - Victim Support (DV3) as outcome.

A mediated moderation model was tested predicting victim support from subjective ambivalence. Although higher subjective ambivalence predicted less victim support, none of the 2-way or 3-way interactions predicting bully opposition in Step 1 were significant (all $ps > .10$; see Supplementary Table 10). Therefore, the main assumption of mediated moderation (that there is a significant mediated effect on the DV)

Supplementary Table 10:

Mediated moderation model predicting victim support (standardized coefficients), Study 2

Predictor	Step 1 (DV3) Victim Support	Step 2a (MV1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (MV2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV3) Victim Support
Subjective Ambivalence	-.15*	-.46***	-.11	-.01
Offensiveness	-.09	-.03	.01	-.09
Normativity	-.10	-.03	.15	-.10
Offensiveness X Normativity	-.01	-.23*	-.01	.04
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.00	-.02	.04	-.00
Ambivalence X Normativity	-.08	-.06	-.10	.09
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.06	-.22 [†]	-.15	-.01
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.29***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.03

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ [†] $p < .08$ MV = mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

was not met. Therefore, these analyses did not support Hypothesis 6. Because there were no significant moderated effects, I cannot test for the mediation of a moderated effect, and do not find support for Hypothesis 7.

Mediated Moderation - bully opposition (DV2) as outcome (controlling for positivity and negativity).

A mediated moderation model was tested predicting bully opposition from subjective ambivalence after accounting for univalent positivity and negativity. Results were largely consistent with the findings before accounting for positivity and negativity.

After accounting for univalent attitudes, higher subjective ambivalence predicted more bully opposition. However, none of the 2-way or 3-way interactions predicting bully opposition in Step 1 were significant (all $ps > .10$; see Supplementary Table 11).

Therefore, the main assumption of mediated moderation (that there is a significant mediated effect on the DV) was not met. Therefore, these analyses did not support Hypothesis 6. Because there were no significant moderated effects, I cannot test for the mediation of a moderated effect and therefore do not find support for Hypothesis 7.

Supplementary Table 11:

Mediated moderation model predicting bully opposition controlling for positivity and negativity (standardized coefficients), Study 2

Predictor	Step 1 (DV2) Bully Opposition	Step 2a (M1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (M2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV2) Bully Opposition
Subjective Ambivalence	.19*	-.20*	.12	.20*
Positivity Factor	.05	.10	.26***	-.04
Negativity Factor	-.57***	-.38***	-.32***	-.36*
Offensiveness	-.05	-.05	.02	-.03
Normativity	-.06	-.02	.15*	-.09
Offensiveness X Normativity	.03	-.25*	-.02	.09
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.10	-.03	.03	-.08
Ambivalence X Normativity	.09	-.02	-.08	.12
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.09	-.24*	-.16	-.01
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.25***
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.24***

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ MV = Mediator, DV = Dependent Variable

Mediated moderation Victim Support (DV3) as outcome controlling for positivity and negativity.

A mediated moderation model was tested predicting victim support from subjective ambivalence after accounting for univalent positivity and negativity. Results were largely consistent with those found before accounting for positivity and negativity. Subjective ambivalence did not predict victim support, and none of the 2-way or 3-way interactions predicting bully opposition in Step 1 were significant (all $ps > .10$; see Supplementary Table 12). Therefore, the main assumption of mediated moderation (that there is a significant mediated effect on the DV) was not met. Therefore, these analyses did not support Hypothesis 6. Because there were no significant moderated effects, I cannot test for the mediation of a moderated effect, and do not find support for Hypothesis 7.

Supplementary Table 12:

Mediated moderation model predicting victim support controlling for positivity and negativity (standardized coefficients), Study 2

Predictor	Step 1 (DV3) Victim Support	Step 2a (M1) Intergroup Empathy	Step 2b (M2) Collective Guilt	Step 3 (DV3) Victim Support
Subjective Ambivalence	.06	-.20*	.12	.10
Positivity Factor	-.20**	.10	.26***	-.22**
Negativity Factor	-.38***	-.38***	-.32***	-.26**
Offensiveness	-.06	-.05	.02	-.05
Normativity	-.06	-.02	.15*	-.05
Offensiveness X Normativity	.00	-.25*	-.02	.06
Ambivalence X Offensiveness	-.01	-.03	.03	.01
Ambivalence X Normativity	.12	-.02	-.08	.13
Ambivalence X Offensiveness X Normativity	-.08	-.24*	-.16	-.04
Intergroup Empathy	-	-	-	.24**
Collective Guilt	-	-	-	.01

Note. * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$ MV = Mediator, DV = Dependent Variable